REPORT RESUMES

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TOWARD A MODEL OF TEACHER DECISION-MAKING IN AN URBAN CLASSROOM.

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THIS MONOGRAPH REPORTED ON THE CONCEPTUALIZATION OF CLASSROOM INSTRUCTION IN URBAN SCHOOLS. BY COMBINING THE CONCURRENT CLASSROOM OBSERVATIONS OF THE INSTRUCTOR AND A GRADUATE STUDENT IN THE CLASS, A MODEL WAS DEVELOPED TO AQUAINT CONCERNED INDIVIDUALS WITH THOSE SUBTLETIES OF A CULTURE WITH WHICH THEY MAY BE UNFAMILIAR AND TO DEVELOP LANGUAGE TO PROMOTE MORE PRODUCTIVE RESEARCH. DESCRIPTIONS ARE INCLUDED OF SCHOOL BEGININGS, CLASSROOM PROCESSES, THE FLOW OF THE SEMESTER, THE CULTURALLY DEPRIVED CHILD IN THE CLASSROOM AND THE SCHOOL, AND RECONCEPTUALIZING TEACHING. DIRECT OBSERVATION WAS MADE OF REAL CLASSROOM EVENTS AND GENERALIZATIONS WERE DEVELOPED. (RS)

ED003449

TOWARD
A MODEL OF TEACHER DECISION-MAKING
IN AN URBAN CLASSROOM

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE
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1965

Toward a Model of Teacher Decision-Making in an Urban Classroom

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and
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Preface

This monograph results from a rather novel research project and working relationship.* The first author conceived the project--partly as a result of comments by the second author who was then a student in a graduate class. The possibilities of an extended relationship were explored and found feasible personally, professionally, and administratively. As indicated in the methodological section, the authors kept field notes of their perceptions of the classroom events. The writeup of the report became quite difficult in terms of speaking in first or third person and singular or plural. After several false starts, the procedure finally adopted consisted of the text being written from the point of view of the outside, non-participant observer. The major portion of the first draft was his responsibility. As the inside-participant observer point of view is implemented, it will be attributed to the teacher and quoted in first person also.

As will be obvious, the monograph is a joint product. For whatever value: clarity of description of the "real" world , insights into classroom functioning', or systematic development of psycho-educational theory , each of us has contributed to the best of his ability.

The anthropologist, Edward Hall, in his book, The Silent Language, makes a vivid case for the importance of the analysis of what we have been calling the "real world." His essay begins with problems of teaching American citizens to work as representatives of government and business in foreign countries. Many difficulties lie in lack of understanding of the culture to which one goes and in the cues one gives to others by one's own behavior. Hall's major point states that this transaction of a culture to an individual and the individual to a culture amounts to a "silent language", that is, much of it is unspoken, mostly unconscious and often quite subtle. Much of our intent is to describe a culture, a classroom in a slum school, so that those who have not lived in it will appreciate its subtleties and complexities. Second, we would also like to develop a scientific language about the phenomenon for more productive research about its functioning. Finally, we hope to state hypotheses we think worthy of intensive investigation.

As in all research of this kind, responsibilities exist regarding the confidentiality and anonymity of the people involved. The names of the school, the teachers, and the children are all fictitious. We have assumed that all large cities have a Washington School and that it probably lies in an older part of the community, as does our school.

* The major comments we make on procedures reside in the appendix.

Our gratitude to the officials of "Big City" who also must remain anonymous is unbounded. Their willingness to let us "be around" for a semester is deeply appreciated. We hope that their faith in our ability to see clearly and interpret carefully has been justified.

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Chapter One

School Begins

The Beginning

As with many institutions which have a recurring rhythm, the public schools typically have a ritual for beginning the school year. City School System is no exception. On Tuesday after Labor Day, the entire corps of teachers meets in the downtown auditorium for an inspirational talk by the president of the school board, an analysis of the meaning of public education today by a superintendent of schools from a nearby city, and a rapid-fire stream of announcements by the local superintendent. These formal arrangements possess a content and style which help characterize the context and consequently have importance for our analysis. The field notes summarize these events.[1]

> We went upstairs to the balcony to a full house--literally all the seats to the top rows were eventually filled shortly after we came in. The program . . . was begun by a brief comment by the Superintendent that the first three items, the anthem, the pledge, and the invocation, would be taken in order and that we all were to arise at the same time and stay standing until the third item was over and were all to sit down together. Again,[2] I was not surprised but reawakened to the clipped business-like, autocratic, if you wish, approach of the Superintendent. In machine gun-like fashion he started the proceedings.
>
> The president of the Board of Education gave an impassioned plea for education for all children. He gave an angry rebuttal to the criticism by the Citizen's Committee concerning Board integration policies. He commented briefly on the quality of the school system and on the history of the school system as it related to the integration question. He was strikingly critical of the fact that many of the critics did not know the facts of the situation or they would not be protesting exactly as they are at the present time. He reviewed the Board's unanimous

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[1] The field notes are quoted verbatim--regardless of grammatical errors and difficulty in style.

[2] The observer had met the superintendent and his approach before.

policy. (LMS--Several Negroes are on the board.)[3] One of the items he commented upon was the fact that no teacher would be coerced in her teaching assignment. This brought a wave of applause in the auditorium, particularly from the white teachers and particularly from the older female white teachers who clapped vigorously and at length. At the close of this speech the applause seemed to break upon racial lines with strong support by the white teachers and mild to no support, what might be described as a "cool reception" by the majority of Negro teachers whom I could see as I scanned the auditorium balcony.

The superintendent of schools from "Neighboring City" gave a brief talk on the topic "Why Teach?". One of the major points that he made which seemed to me at this point in time to be a critical point, was that one of the objectives of education that had arisen in recent years concerned the survival of the Nation and of the culture. He compared and contrasted this briefly with prior broad objectives of the public schools--the early social reconstruction during the 1930's, the education for individual development, the education for economic welfare etc., which had been rallying points and cries of other generations and other periods.

After a brief intermission, the local superintendent briefly gave a resume of the issues pertaining to general school activities--such things as buildings, meetings, difficulties with strikes, and items of general interest to the school personnel staff as a whole. He did this in his rapid-fire manner, hardly taking time to swallow a gulp of water before clicking out another set of facts and another array of information concerning achievement and the general quality of the job being done by Big City teachers. He introduced a bit of humor at the conclusion in commenting that since we were getting out early at 11:30 he wanted everyone to be very careful going down the steps, that typically one person sprained his ankle and at least three fenders were bumped in the general rush of traffic out of the auditorium. (9/3)

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[3] Most of the interpretive comments made at the time the field notes were written were initialed and bracketed.

The Washington School

As we drive across the city and into the Washington School neighborhood, the litter and debris scattered on street and sidewalk illuminate the physical locale of the school. These impressions differentiate themselves further as one realizes that the lot behind the school belongs to a trucking company. The front of the school opens onto a major truck artery which masks the sounds of the factory across the street. Later, from Mr. Geoffrey's room, we can see a warehouse and a closed and decaying nightclub across the back lot. Still later we will hear, especially with the windows open, the piercing factory whistle calling, in rhythmic bursts, various supervisory personnel to return to their office from the production parts of the plant.

Emotionally one might eulogize as Sandburg does in "Chicago", for Big City is a hog butcher, a tool maker, and a player with railroads, or one might lament over the contrast with the pastoral open quality of the green campus type schools in the county suburbs. For our purposes we present a brief sketch, Figure 1.1, of the school grounds and the neighborhood.

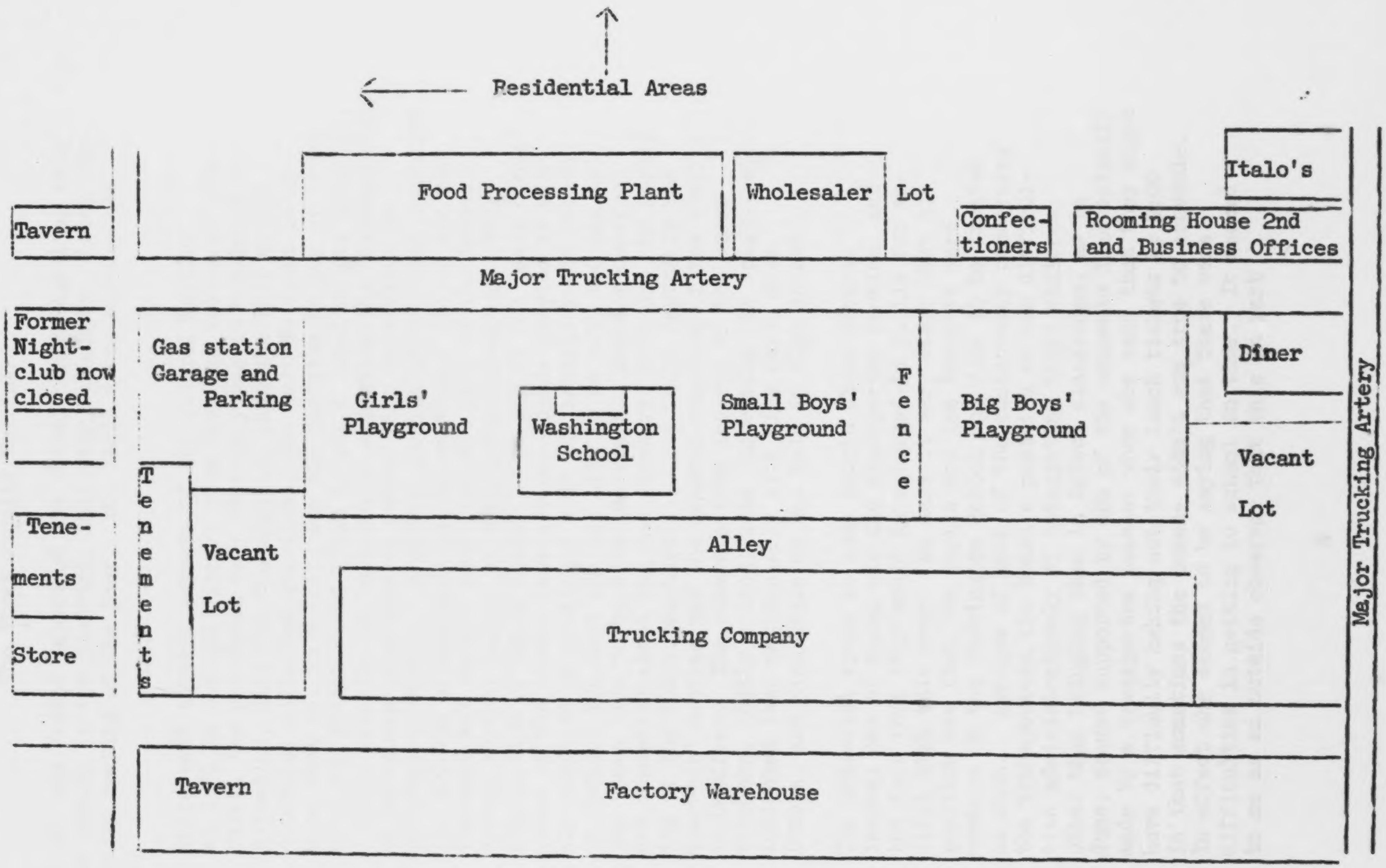
Insert Figure 1.1 about here

The field notes stress a contrast:

> As we walked into the back of the building, I was struck by the way in which the floors glistened after having been sealed and waxed. Everything was polished. Most of the construction and refurbishing of the summer had been cleaned up. The building seemed in terms of physical plant to be all set for another year of school. (9/3)

In time, as we will note, the neighborhood creeps in upon the school, the contrast will blur, and the school will approximate more closely the community.

During the first hour after lunch, Mr. Geoffrey visits briefly with his closer friends among the faculty, particularly as they wander by his room. Mainly, however, each teacher seems to be attending to the minor record keeping and supply gathering chores as they apply to his own classroom. Those with whom Mr. Geoffrey chats are from the second floor and mostly, but not exclusively, from his end of the building.



Residential Areas
Tavern
Food Processing Plant
Wholesaler
Lot
Italo's
Confec-tioners
Rooming House 2nd and Business Offices
Major Trucking Artery
Former Night-club now closed
Gas station Garage and Parking
Girls' Playground
Washington School
Small Boys' Playground
Fence
Big Boys' Playground
Diner
Vacant Lot
Tenements
Tene-ments
Vacant Lot
Store
Alley
Trucking Company
Major Trucking Artery
Tavern
Factory Warehouse

Figure 1.1: Washington School and Its Immediate Environs

The First Faculty Meeting

At 1:30, the formal aspect of the ritual begins again as each elementary school in the district, including Washington, holds its first faculty meeting of the year. The field notes capture the reactions:

> There were several aspects of the general meeting at 1:30 in the old library room that are worthy of note. First, the principal very obviously was in charge of the situation, directed the meeting, made the bulk of the comments, solicited questions, but left no doubt in my mind that he, in effect, saw his position as one of "running the school." If I had to put a label on his behavior, I would describe it in terms of accepting the responsibility of bureaucratic authority rather than an attempt at personal authority. A second general observation concerned the seating arrangement in the meeting. All of the men teachers sat farther away from the head of the table, around another table, as a separate sub-group. This segregation by sexes seemed to be one of the basic dimensions of the school interaction--no-one greeted it with any surprise or seemingly with any hostility--it seemed to reflect the fact the men like to be with the men and the women like to be with the women. Earlier Geoffrey had commented about the men teachers' room and the gossiping of the women teachers. . . . A third factor in the teachers' meeting was the general reaction of the staff to Geoffrey. The comments from several of the women teachers, mostly joking, some concerning his weight, etc., indicated that particularly with Miss Carr, Miss Donora, and Miss Eagle he was held in high esteem.
>
> The principal spoke at some length about several issues; one of these was the transportee problem, and the fact that they would have bussed-in pupils for the first time this year. He made it very clear that his position was that the pupils and the teachers were members of the Washington School and were to be treated as such. Apropos of much of the controversy concerning the transportees, the Board's position on the difficulties administratively of integrating these children, other than bringing them in intact classrooms, as is done, seemed supported by one of the comments inadvertently made by a transportee teacher when she said that they might have difficulty making out their lunch tickets by 9:00 in that sometimes the busses didn't run true to schedule. In effect she seemed to be saying that there were difficulties in getting to school on time. It seemed to me as an outside observer that this in part

> vindicated the administration's more general position and the reasoning underlying the intact classroom approach. The principal talked a bit about the fact that they had very little vandalism during the summertime, in spite of the fact that Geoffrey counted at least seven windows that were cracked or broken wide open in his second floor room which is not above a playground. The principal commented a bit about discipline problems and seemed to be saying several contradictory things. One, that every school has some problem; two, that children are children everywhere; and three, that there were some unique satisfactions in teaching children from less privileged areas (e.g., parents didn't trust the teachers). He did comment that he was ready and willing to help them with discipline problems, but he did emphasize, and this should be cleared up in later conversations with Mr. Geoffrey and other teachers, that he expected the other teachers to tell him what they had already done about the problem before they brought the problem to him personally. One possible implication was that the bulk of the problems are supposed to be solved by the teacher and not brought to his attention generally. (9/3)

Other details concerning the building are communicated. The teachers make only a few comments. After forty minutes the teachers filter back to their rooms. The ritual contains one final element: teachers cannot leave the building until 3:30. The school day, for which they have been paid, doesn't end until then. Mr. Geoffrey returns to getting his room organized. He typically leaves, as we shall see, most of the book distribution items and room decoration until the children are present. This freedom provides an easy tempo for conversation with faculty friends and for the introduction of the observer to significant members of the faculty.[4] Miss Holt is treated with humor and flattery. "She's the traveler, the second in command formally, and informally the first in command." Mr. Gennep and Mr. Geoffrey exchange banter about local athletics, both amateur and professional. They raise the possibility of attending an out of town State University game this fall. Some of this seems to be precipitated by Mr. Geoffrey's earlier scouting about for a radio. He borrowed Miss Carr's and thus was able to listen to the ball game. Mr. Gennep had been a thought and a step behind. Part of his "in and out" behavior reflected a strong friendship as well as his desire to keep abreast of the game. A few comments about summer experiences and school gossip complete the major conversational topics. At 3:30, the staff leaves. No-one is encumbered with books or materials.

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4. This point elaborating the observer's influence on the system receives expanded treatment in the methodological section of the appendix.

The Pupils Arrive

On Wednesday morning, district policy states that pupils attend for half a day. At 8:37 AM after the appropriate bells, the pupils come in quietly and take whatever seats they desire. At 8:40 Mr. Geoffrey and his colleagues in the hall at the head of the stairs disband their small group and enter their respective rooms. The notes capture the tenor of the first few minutes:

> Geoffrey sits quietly at table in the front. Looks them over and smiles. Starts attendance and roll. Makes brief comments of recognition "New hairdo?" (to one of girls), "Anyone know whether they have moved?" (about an absent pupil), and so forth. (9/4)

Shortly thereafter an episode occurs in which he asks a child to go to the board and write his, Mr. Geoffrey's, name. The child errs. The other children are reticent about volunteering to correct the error. Individually Mr. Geoffrey identifies children by name and finally persuades one to go up and alter the misspelling.

Insert Figure 1.2 about here

At 8:52, in a quite direct manner, he comments, "Let's talk about rules. Allison, how about gum? Do I like it? Do I like to see people chewing it?" Allison, who "accidently" came in chewing gum tells him "No," walks to the wastebasket, and disposes of her gum. In the next seven minutes Mr. Geoffrey briefly indicates the class rules. First, if you leave the room, you must ask permission and you are not to ask to leave in pairs. No looks of misunderstanding occur to this. Almost before he finishes that item, Mr. Geoffrey focuses his attention and comments "What time does school start, Sam?" which is followed quickly by "If you're at Rhodys[5] when are you to be in the yard?" Sam replies as expected. Mr. Geoffrey asks "Questions?" There are none. Then abruptly he says "Attendance; unfortunately I see some who don't like to be here." He then comments that a note excusing absence is needed. It should be from an adult and not from fellow students. The pupils react and he counters, "Some of you smile, do I hit home?" The discussion continues through borrowing materials, time for talking and not talking, pencil sharpening, seating, and homework. In conclusion, Mr. Geoffrey, with Billy's help, defines reputation: "Ways you behave." He indicates that it is possible to wipe out reputations and

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[5] The confectionary across the street.

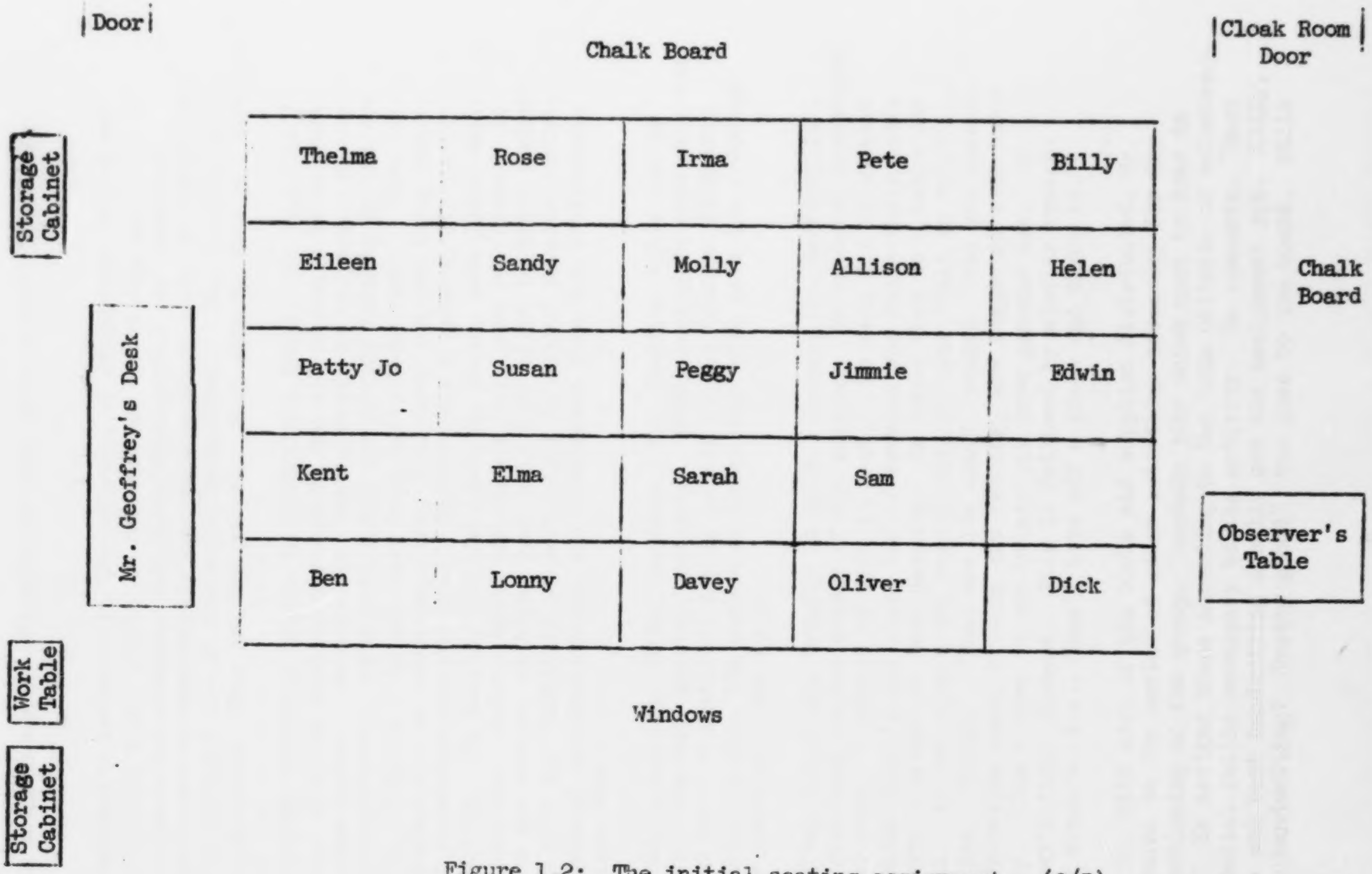
Door
Chalk Board
Cloak Room Door
Storage Cabinet
Mr. Geoffrey's Desk
Work Table
Storage Cabinet
Thelma
Rose
Irma
Pete
Billy
Eileen
Sandy
Molly
Allison
Helen
Patty Jo
Susan
Peggy
Jimmie
Edwin
Kent
Elma
Sarah
Sam
Ben
Lonny
Davey
Oliver
Dick
Chalk Board
Observer's Table
Windows

Figure 1.2: The initial seating assignment. (9/5)

start with a clean slate. Finally he asks "Questions?" There are none.

The teacher's behavior in the episodes of attendance taking and rule establishing might strike an outsider as containing qualities of clarity, a knack for singling out individual pupils and something unique, different or momentarily appropriate about them, an unhurriedness, and a frequent use of the noun "permission." The children are quiet and reticent. They get the points. They seem to know Mr. Geoffrey.

At 8:59 Mr. Geoffrey begins to distribute books. He explains the routine: everyone must have a number and all of one's books must have the same number. He asks for "strong boys" as helpers. No-one volunteers immediately, then with humor and a real twinkle in his eye, he comments, "I guess I've got lazy boys again this year." When he comes to number 13, he comments, "Sam, I'll give you the lucky number. You're not superstitious are you?" This evokes a general discussion of superstition. In passing out the spelling books, each child walks up to receive his. Later, Edwin and Jimmie help pass out books. As the numbers are called, children seem only half alert to their numbers. They don't show any hostility or what might be called passive resistance. A general inattentiveness and withdrawal from the environment characterizes them.

At 9:22, a new boy, Lonny, arrives. Mr. Geoffrey tells him to take a seat. The book passing continues. Sandy begins to chat with the girl behind her. A continual byplay exists as the teacher describes the two history books, the number of books they will have (in response to Sandy's question), and so on.

A teacher interrupts briefly at 9:39. Shortly Mr. Geoffrey is attending once more to the events of the morning. He explains occasional desk inspections, "I expect to find it neat." He asks for volunteers for sharpening pencils and picks two of several who raise their hands and who haven't helped in book passing. He sends them to a table out in the hall. As the rulers are passed out, he asks "What is this?" Billy replies, "Ruler." "What are its uses?" evokes "Draw and measure." The other possible uses, hitting and fencing, are suggested with humor and clarity. "Don't have it out unless you have genuine use," is Mr. Geoffrey's final comment. This is followed by similar remarks concerning erasers, i.e., "Don't bite off a piece and throw it."

At 9:50, with most of the books and supplies distributed, Mr. Geoffrey turns to the series of minor activities necessary for the smooth functioning of the group, "certain jobs which must be done in the room." He assigns these according to the twin criteria of volunteering and special skills necessary to the activity. He comments, "Best attendance and best handwriting usually get the assignment job. Molly, how's your handwriting? Pretty good?" She goes to the board. Billy is picked to pass out the chalk and erasers. Molly stumbles in writing "chalk and erasers." Sam spells chalk. Kent and Lonny correct "erasers." Mr. Geoffrey urges the children to speak louder as they contribute suggestions.

At 10:00 two older boys, former students, poke their heads in the door. Mr. Geoffrey acknowledges them, and for a moment talks with them. He then proceeds to select monitors for shades, supplies, audio visual, library and paper distribution. Molly continues to have difficulty spelling proper names and nouns, e.g. librarian. Mr. Geoffrey calls on volunteers to help with spelling. One child appeals to his dictionary. Mr. Geoffrey commends him, "I see one child who has a dictionary out. You had better get used to using dictionaries." After settling the supply room helpers, Sam, Don, Oliver and Davey with a "You'll be able to help out every couple of weeks," and a "You won't run off and play baseball at noon," Mr. Geoffrey neatly disposes of Molly who has had a provisional trial at the board. "We still need someone for the assignment board. Sandy, you get up and let's see your handwriting. . . . All right, we'll give that assignment to you."

At 10:15, just before recess, he comments:

> You all know where to go at recess. There will be no afternoon recess. Behave yourself in the yard. Nothing is worse than having you brought to me by another teacher for nonsense.

The bell rings. "Girls line up." They do. "Boys line up." They do. Shortly they all file out.

The recess, for Mr. Geoffrey, brings a brief interlude of conversation and a coke. The male teachers have developed over the last few years a retreat, (Room 10, on the second floor) of which they are extremely proud. To their knowledge few fifty-year old school buildings are so well off; it contains an illogical collection of facilities --toilets, wash basins, lockers, couch, icebox and table. When the men want to smoke, retreat, et cetera, this is the place. At recess, the cokes come from the icebox. The conversation with Mr. Arnold and Mr. Gennep, who have gathered there also, is brief and centers on the facts and rumors of the morning. Mr. Gennep has only 15 children, out of 29 for whom he had cards, plus two new registrants. Concern and complaints center on possibilities of "split classes."[6] We are back in class by 10:35.

The children return at 10:37 and by 11:03 a new girl, Helen, has arrived, one set of history books, which will be used later is collected back from the youngsters, a good bit more informal conversation among the children has begun, the children who want to shift to other seats have changed, one more humorous and individualized interaction has occurred. Mr. Geoffrey asks, "Can everyone see and hear?" Oliver mutters something. Mr. Geoffrey retorts, "Oliver, I'm talking about having your eyes open." Then, a moral, complete with blackboard illustrations is drawn. It centers around skipping rocks at the lake and sitting straight so that the words don't skip over. The children slouch a little less.

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[6] Split classes are combinations of two or more grade levels, e.g. half fifth and half sixth, or half sixth and half seventh.

The formal academic work of the morning consists of a paragraph written about experiences of the Summer. "I want a sample of your writing habits. . .write a paragraph of two on something you did this summer. This is not to grill you, but to see your penmanship and how you write a sentence. It should fill about all of one side." Mr. Geoffrey gives additional instruction on procedures and encourages use of dictionaries. The field notes indicate the reaction:

> Response is a quiet settling down to task. Occasional pupil asks permission to go for a drink. Pupils occasionally speak quietly to one another. Businesslike.
> (9/4)

In the teacher's schema this exercise indicates the vacation is over and provides a sample of work ability better than a formal achievement test.

In twenty minutes, the papers are passed forward. Billy, as instructed, collects them across rows. Another boy horns in, Billy hesitates, and Mr. Geoffrey says clearly and emphatically, "You, no-one else."

The remainder of the morning involves miscellaneous activities, messengers coming in with notices, and comments on unfinished business--such as one on firedrills directed to Sam. "Don't play with the alarm . . .when it rings we go right out. . . . No talking or dawdling." Included also, in response to a question, are references to the bookmobile, the need for a library card, and the 20 book reports, ten each semester, which will be required. Other questions continue the light repartee; Sandy, for instance, doesn't see why Mr. Geoffrey should have a radio in his cupboard if they, the pupils, aren't allowed to have one. Mr. Geoffrey, with banter and humor, invokes the age difference as the criterion. They, the teacher and the children, make a seating chart. Several boys go down to the storeroom and Oliver clowns as he comes back. Other business odds and ends are taken up.

Mr. Geoffrey's lunch is a sandwich at Italo's Restaurant around the corner from the school. A number of other teachers eat there the first day. A walk through the neighborhood remakes the images. While the predominant tone of the homes reflects being overtaken with age and wear, considerable variation exists. A few with painted bricks, small fenced-in yards, and a concern with cleanliness could be characterized as lower middle class. At the other extreme are some unoccupied homes with doors ajar and windows broken out. A few occupied homes in nearly the same condition are also present. The majority need considerable repair.

At 1:00 Mr. Geoffrey's afternoon begins with housekeeping and assistance from Allison, Helen, Sandy, Edwin and Jimmie. The work is pleasant, conversational, and contains much joking and humor. An occasional teacher stops by.

Beginning Academic Work: Teaching The 3R's

The school directive says that Thursday is a half-day and that Friday begins the first regular week. Mr. Geoffrey responds in these terms, not only to the specified hours but also in his planning and the activities which occur.

The pupils file in at 8:37 on Thursday. The teacher-pupil interaction follows the same easy pattern of yesterday. Geoffrey asks, "How about opening a couple windows back there, boys?" Three respond with alacrity. He comments to a girl about being absent yesterday. He moves Sam so a new girl won't be "lost among the boys" and with a look and a brief comment he quiets Billy's friendly gregariousness. Abruptly he is called out to talk with Peggy. On the way to school one of the teachers had seen her getting into an unoccupied car. Peggy, in contrast, had said that she had bumped into it and the door fell open. Mr. Geoffrey has been involved at the perceiving teacher's request. By 8:44 he is back in class and Elma meets him with "I need some books" to which he comments "I'm aware of that." The 8:45 bell rings. Edwin and Sam help put books away in response to Mr. Geoffrey's request. The new girls, Shirley and Elma, who have arrived this morning, receive their books. Mr. Geoffrey tells Billy "I made a mistake on the erasers and chalk." He requests help in the form of thumbtackers for hanging book dust jackets. "Need boys. . .it's difficult for girls to climb up." At 8:57 Miss Holt comes in to borrow a desk. The next entry (9:01) in the field notes reads:

> I've been displaced by boys hanging up book folders. The past ten minutes has been one of busy activity. All but six (all girls) children have been active in fixing up the room. Through all this Mr. Geoffrey has been walking around the room as a supervisor, i.e. giving directions, commending that, and generally keeping the activity progressing. His behavior fits neatly the Kahn and Katz[7] differentiated role of supervisor. He hasn't placed a book on the shelf nor thumbed a tack. (9/5)

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[7] Kahn, R. L. and Katz, D., "Leadership practices in relation to productivity and morale" in Cartwright, D. and Zander, A. (Ed.) Group Dynamics. 2nd Edition. Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson & Co., 1960.

The activities move smoothly. Davey helps by tacking a border of letters around the room. As he puts up the alphabet he errs in the sequence. He's called on it. Mr. Geoffrey jokingly chides him. Several of the boys chuckle over this. Miss Eagle's entrance and request for "some strong arms" produces an immediate volunteer in Edwin. Such episodes blend so smoothly that scarcely can they be called interruptions.

At 9:15 Mr. Geoffrey indicates by way of announcements that reading groups will be assigned tomorrow, that book reports are due every two weeks, that some of the pupils may go to groups other than the remedial reading teacher, Miss Eagle's group, and that "depending on how busy Miss Eagle is" some of the pupils may have a reading test tomorrow. His last announcement states, "Today I have several little tests of my own."

Spelling

Mr. Geoffrey sends Susan to Mr. Gennep's room for a sixth grade spelling book. Then, "Sandy will you tell everyone how I want the papers headed up?"[8] She replies that one's name goes first in the upper left hand corner. Edwin, then Allison, indicate the remaining items. As they do this he checks around the room. He then tells the pupils "Go back to the side where your name and date are, skip a line, and number one through ten."

At this point Miss Norton brings in some books and the girls who have been putting name labels on the ball point pens return and catch up on the spelling papers. Mr. Geoffrey comments "Everyone caught up?" They have. Then, "Fold your paper. Put a number eleven across from number one and go down to number twenty, then stop." A few comments are introduced about sixth grade spelling books which all the children have seen. At 9:29, the dictation begins. A word is presented, used in a sentence and pronounced a second time. The notes suggest several interpretative comments:

> Kids are quiet and behave in what looks like and probably is a well-practiced routine. Mr. Geoffrey walks about the room. Sentences are humorous, simple, local, and personal. (9/5)

Illustrative of these are three items:

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8. The notes don't indicate instructions to the paper monitors or their response. Presumably Rose and Allison handled this.

> "Leather. A great many shoes are made of leather. Leather."
> "Pickles. When I have a ham sandwich I like to have some pickles. Pickles."
> "Alphabet. I hope you all know the alphabet by tomorrow--Davey."[9]

These procedures continue through the twenty words of the lesson. No pupil copying from one paper to another occurs. At the close of the dictation, he indicates that they will use varying procedures for scoring papers. Sometimes each pupil will score his own, on other occasions they will trade, and sometimes he will score them himself. Today he utilizes what will come to be the dominant mode, trading papers. Each child hands his paper to the one behind and the pupil in the back brings his to the front of the row. He describes this routine carefully. Once this is settled he calls on Allison to spell "thread." She does. He indicates that a check mark is to be inserted if the answer is correct and a cross (x) if incorrect. And "Please, please, please no large checks." (He draws one). He then calls on Pete to spell the second word. From this point on he takes volunteers, e.g. Kent, Sandy, Davey, Oliver. Later to both Allison's and Kent's volunteering he comments "You've had one"; however, on number thirteen he comments "Sam, how do you spell tardy?" Sam retorts "I had one", to which Mr. Geoffrey recoups "I'm giving you this one special." After this, several volunteers, Sandy, Davey, Kent and Jimmie, all receive second opportunities. Finally, "vacant" is misspelled and he goes down the row looking for the correct answer.

At 9:53 he tells them not to return the paper but to count the number correct and to put that figure at the top of the paper. The results are distributed in Figure 1.3.

Insert Figure 1.3 about here

The papers are returned to the owners but Mr. Geoffrey indicates that he wants them returned to him after the children have a chance to see how they did. He answers questions about several words then asks "How many would I say is good?" The pupils guess at 15 to 19. The notes then catch verbatim most of his comments:

> "Perhaps we should briefly speak on how well I expect you to do. Better!! If you've gotten 10 then 11, 12, or 13. If you've gotten 17 then 18 or 19. If you come

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[9] This is an allusion to Davey's error earlier in putting up the alphabet.

20	1
19	
18	1
17	1
16	11
15	
14	1
13	1
12	11
11 and below	~~1111~~ ~~1111~~ ~~1111~~

Figure 1.3. Distribution of spelling scores on initial dictation test.

> in reading at fifth grade then better. All don't do the same in arithmetic. . . . Don't look at your neighbor and say 'I'm stupid.' Do better than in the past." (9/5)

From the discussion, really a monologue, he moves to the question of promotion. Once again the field notes capture most of Mr. Geoffrey's comments:

> "I'll speak frankly. In May you take tests on reading, spelling and arithmetic. You must make a certain level on those. They are not set too high. That's not all. The most important thing is doing your work for me. Let's have no nonsense on not doing work. Book reports. . . Assignments. See me if in doubt. . . If you fall behind you will never catch up . . . Do your best and do it regularly." (9/5)

The class listens attentively to the statement.

Reading

With a few minutes of time before recess he turns to his notebook containing cumulative records and begins assignment to reading groups. This occurs simply and directly--if not abruptly. The field notes quote Mr. Geoffrey as follows:

> "No reason not to assign you to a reading group now. Sam, would you come up to this board please. Write 1. Molly 2 and Allison 3. Assign to certain groups. Couple of weeks may change you." (9/5)

Figure 1.4 shows the constitution of each group. Lonny, Sarah and Helen, the new children, are assigned on the evidence from class performance and the information card accompanying their transfer into the class. The bell for recess rings. Mr. Geoffrey indicates "These are where you start. They are not final. You may go up or down." He calls the girls to line up, then he calls the boys.

Insert Figure 1.4 about here

After recess, Mr. Geoffrey returns to reading; this time, however, he begins with outside reading. He indicates that he will select, with them, the first book. Within level limits, the remainder of choices will be their's. Hardly does he make these announcements when Miss Norton comes in (10:41) and he goes out momentarily to talk with her in the hall. Upon his return he begins individually to distribute

Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
Susan	Allison	Irma
Oliver	Ben	Henry H
Jimmie	Thelma	Billy
Dick	Susan	Sandy
Davey	Kent	Pete
Edwin	Molly	Rose
Sarah	Lonny	Patty
Helen		Elma
		Peggy

Figure 1.4. The initial assignment to reading groups.

books on the appropriate level, and he explains the classroom library card system to the whole class (and to Susan and Rose, the librarians). Shortly, all of Group I have books. At 10:50 Miss Holt comes in, talks with Mr. Geoffrey for a moment and they step out in the hall.

> While this conversation goes on, almost all of Group I who have books begin reading. Rest converse quietly. (This is a most interesting piece of activity. There's been no prodding or imploring about 'getting to work.' No 'closeness of supervision' in this sense, beyond the initial statement of requirements.) (9/5)

At 10:53 Mr. Geoffrey comes back into the room, the book selecting begins again, Kent volunteers to take a message, and the low group continues, slowly, to make selections. Mr. Geoffrey does not hurry them but makes suggestions and raises possibilities. By 11:07, Mr. Geoffrey presents a dittoed sheet with lists of books; Group III continues selecting; he comments, "Come on, people, let's get going. We want to begin class tomorrow," and Sandy after looking at the list comments, "Mr. Geoffrey, these are baby books." He quietly admonishes her, "Work hard and . . ."

Miss Holt interrupts these activities at 11:15 when she comes in with a note. While Mr. Geoffrey reads, she quietly but completely surveys the room and its activities. After this interruption Mr. Geoffrey finishes going through books, their numbers, and who is to read each. The fact that some of those to be read first must be borrowed from another room creates some difficulties. To the pupil comment, "Mr. Geoffrey, I've read all these" he responds, "I'll check your records and you can read others." He warns them then, "When you finish, read others on your sheet, not any old book. I don't want to catch any of you on levels 6 and 7 reading others."

With this accomplished, he comments that he needs help after lunch in the supply room, that he planned to put it off but the Principal wants it done today, and that he's looking for volunteer helpers.[12] The remainder of the morning from 11:22 on finds everyone busy: some read, some work on reading sheets, some help with library books, and some, the talkers (Sandy, Thelma, and Rose--Allison, Helen, and Edwin) converse. Mr. Geoffrey helps organize the book shelves around the numbers from the levels sheets. The interlude continues with breaks only when a messenger returns, and when Mr. Geoffrey comments (at 11:50), "Now let's don't get into any bad habits; I expect you to be busy," to Sam's unoccupied sitting. At 11:55 the library workers are disbanded and desks returned to place. At 11:56 the bell rings and Mr. Geoffrey comments that he will see the helpers after lunch and the remaining pupils in the morning at 8:30, smiling. Before he has opportunity to ask the children to line up he speaks to Sandy about her talking. She retorts, "I don't have anything to do." With a grin he finishes the interplay, "I'll see that you always have something extra." The girls line up, then the boys.

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[12] Each staff member has at least one school-wide "chore"; Geoffrey handles the teacher supply room.

Friday: The first full day

This morning, as usual, Mr. Geoffrey "checks in" at the office. The formal purpose lies in picking up his keys. School policy requires that each teacher leave keys to his room, desk, and cabinets in the office when he leaves the building at night. This prevents the confusion of forgotten and lost keys and also enables the substitute, if a teacher becomes ill overnight, to move easily into the teaching responsibilities. Occasionally difficulties arise between the custodian who brings the keys out from a locked cabinet and the teachers who arrive "too early" in his view. From Mr. Geoffrey's point of view, the latent function of the stop is more social and informational. Mrs. Effingham, the clerk, is gregarious, talkative and a good friend. This morning the banter centers around Geoffrey's chiding Miss Donora, a first grade teacher, with whom he works in the supply room. The overt elements of this include (1) her failure to show up for their joint storeroom activities yesterday and, (2) the "fact" that he is her assistant in this chore (she has been teaching some ten years at Washington School). The unspoken conditions which make the banter humorous and gentle include the fact that they are good friends and she is quite conscientious and also quite shy. Mrs. Effingham enters easily into this conversation as a full participant. Miss Peters and Mr. Miller[13] observe. Brief conversations and some planning complete the morning pre school activities.

By 8:37 the pupils are in. The morning odds and ends of adjusting window shades, an individual problem or two, lunch count, and so forth are handled as they arise. Through all this a few of the youngsters--Sam, Dick, Oliver, Sarah, Lonny, Davey, Kent, and Ben--sit quietly and read, in a fashion that will become a very stable part of the social structure of the classroom. At 8:39 Mr. Geoffrey comments, "You've had a nice vacation, now it's time to get to work. Take out the little notebooks that I gave you. . .." He has them count ten pages from the back and label the page "Spelling." Interruptions then intertwine with direction giving, books arrive in the arms of a boy, several girls act as messengers, and Miss Holt comes in briefly.

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[13]. Mr. Miller is the student teacher who spent the semester at Washington School.

Book Reports

Reading is important in the Washington School. Supplementary reading and book reports are a part of the language arts emphasis. This begins with, "Now turn to the front (of the notebook) and at the very top write Book Reports." He then evokes a discussion of the elements required in an acceptable book report. Together, he and volunteers produce a list.

1. Author
2. Title
3. Publisher
4. Date of publication
5. Where published
6. Level sheet number

The sequence is Mr. Geoffrey's, the items have come from individual pupils. They suggest also "fiction," "non fiction," "setting," and so forth. He indicates, "That's right but it comes later." He has them write these in their books. Edwin and Billy return, and they are helped by Jimmie and Peter. Eileen receives instructions--"Eileen make sure Sandy gets what she missed when she comes back."

At 8:50, slips of paper are passed out and each child writes the appropriate information for his current library book. Irma's book is at home. To his question, "What do we do with library books?" several children respond, "Bring them in the next day." He then picks a book from the shelf and with a grin, comments, "This one is especially for you." From the field notes the following interpretive statement is drawn:

> Once more the humor and personalizing of approach to the children; I don't have the feeling of a benevolent autocrat, rather an interested adult. (9/6)

At 8:55 he checks around the class, gives help where needed, and "okays" where correct. The notes contain several observations and interpretations:

> Allison perplexed by "illustration." Sarah responds to "What is an illustration?" (She is emitting responses toward best student criterion. Yesterday, she was the only one with twenty words correct.) In the 7-10 minutes Mr. Geoffrey has interacted with every child in the class. (Style is total class and total individual instruction).

After a few minutes of instruction on level numbers he explains that the level 6 books are at the bindery and that they "must trade around and rely on the kindness of Mr. Gennep and Miss Norton." He then indicates that the first reports will be given to him orally and individually. They then enter a discussion which brings out:

7. Fiction-non fiction
8. Setting
9. Main characters
10. Plot
11. Did you like it? Why?

A number of episodes occur which seem important for developing understandings and interpersonal relationships. To Edwin's response of "True" for fiction, he comments, "I'll let you reverse yourself." The discussion brings out "biography" and he asks, "What do you call it when a man writes his own story?" Sam responds, "Autobiography." He defines setting as, "Where and when," plot as, "What the story is about," and indicates they should try to get another person interested but not necessarily tell the conclusion--as in a murder mystery. Dick, Lonny, and Edwin make the major contributions to this.

After distinguishing again between oral and written, he indicates he will check them on each of these points on the first report. The lesson ends as follows:

> "All right Sandy, let's get the assignments up. Let's use this board (east side at front). First book report due. What does 'due' mean, Oliver? September 11. That means that each of you will be ready with this much written out, 1-6, and ready to tell me the rest, 7-11. If you have any questions come up and see me." Goes back to Oliver on what does "due" mean. Dick responds, "Due means deadline." Mr. Geoffrey continues, "Keep list of books read. . . . Second page of notebook. . . . Questions? Don't fall behind. That's next Wednesday. Today's Friday."

Spelling

At 9:27, spelling begins. The notes capture most of Mr. Geoffrey's initial comments:

> "The last ten pages you have marked 'Spelling'. Now turn back to that page. For spelling there is an assignment to be done for every day. It's short. Or at least what I regard as short. Similar to last year's. Some of you mentioned skipping around. This year we'll go straight through. One unit each week."

They move to the first unit on page two.

Parenthetically, we should note the structure of the spelling book.[14] Each of the 36 units contains a week's spelling activity.

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[14] Kottmeyer, W. and Ware, Kay, Basic spelling goals: 7, St. Louis, Mo.: Webster Publishing Company, 1960.

Typically twenty words, centering on some language arts theme or principle, are listed and introduced with a paragraph of commentary regarding the theme and a pictorial illustration of the main point. Each unit contains two main sections, "Learning your words" and "Using your words." The former varies practice activities from week to week. The latter contains sections, "A, Know your meanings," "B, Lift your language," (a more general language arts activity) and "C, Use your dictionary." Each unit has a brief "Don't miss the easy ones" section, e.g., "to, two, and too," and a brief "An interesting word is. . ." section, e.g. good-by is a contraction of God-be-with-ye.

Mr. Geoffrey teaches the materials presented in Unit I, page two. He clarifies "compound words," the theme, and talks about the picture and its meaning, an iceberg = mountain of ice. He then illustrates with the first two words "within" and throughout." He reads the introductory material and explains necessary items. Then he picks volunteers to read through the list of words: Sam, Dick, Davey. . .and on around the room. On occasion he checks the meaning of the words.

He outlines the spelling routine and notes on the blackboard the major recurring assignments. Sarah volunteers the correct answer to his question on the meaning of "definition."

Due Mondays--Definitions
Due Tuesdays--Sentences
Due Wednesdays--Learning your words
Due Thursdays--Using your words
    Fridays--Test

Words that are missed on the Friday test are to be put in the notebook.

The lesson concludes at 9:45. The notes once again contain several interpretations intermixed with observations and near verbatim quotes:

> (LMS--Builds in flexibility for self. Due on the days but may be checked otherwise. See for leadership and supervision.) Raises strong issue about inadvisability of doing one lesson while class does another. "Woe unto you who. . . ."
>
> "Why have 8, 9, 10 pages in back of book? . . . words missed. . .like to see a bunch of blank pages. First job when you get your spelling papers back from me . . . . Why are you frowning? Don't worry there'll be more. Whenever I hear groaning I'll assume that you don't have enough to do and I'll double the assignment. I don't like groaning. This morning I'll be generous

> and give you plenty of time. You may have until recess to do your spelling or book reports. This is the time to see me if you have questions, sharpen pencils. . . ."

The remainder of the morning, until recess at 10:15 is spent with children working on spelling and with a variety of dyadic teacher-pupil interaction, with initiation by both the teacher or an individual pupil. "I need a couple of alphabetizers" brings volunteers, Eileen and Susan. "Anyone going to the dime store over the weekend?" Irma is. "Buy me some safety pins." He follows this with the admonition, "When you borrow, return. . . ."[15] Davey indicates that the date on the board hasn't been changed. Sandy must do so. Elma is permitted to sharpen her pencil. Oliver volunteers for messenger duty. The children are all working. A messenger comes in with a note. Another one comes in for the pencil sharpener.[16] Mr. Geoffrey asks for a volunteer to erase the board. Billy responds. The notes contain a question:

> (LMS--Considerable pupil activity regarding chores. Usually on volunteer basis which seemingly capitalizes on any pupil's need to get up and stretch or move about when he gets restless. Beautiful hypothesis here regarding which teachers do most of the chores themselves? What are the system consequences of doing few or many?) (9/6)

Language Arts

When Mr. Geoffrey returns at 10:39, seven minutes after recess is over, the children are all busy working on spelling or book reports. The fragmented field notes convey the essentials of the introduction to the language lessons:

> "Take out Words and Ideas.[17] . . . Let's speak frankly about language. . .it will give you more difficulty than anything else. . . . Papers will come back 6, 7 or 8 times. . . . Why is language important?"

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[15] As garments fall apart pins are used for repairs.

[16] This child is from Miss Holt's room. He or one of his classmates will be involved this way for most of the semester. Procuring a pencil sharpener is sometimes a difficult job in a large public school system.

[17] Pollock, T. C. and Rounds, R. W., Words and Ideas. New York: MacMillan, 1960.

> Enters into discussion of importance of language. . . jobs, applications, driver's test, directions, pick out movie, driver's license--written test. "Could you get along this weekend?" Illustrates with "ain't." Better job, improving ourselves, sounds better to others, who'll get the job/ The people who can speak, write, and read correctly. . .I'll start correcting the language which I think can be improved. Makes a distinction between here and "out there."[18] "I won't be around to rap you on the head with a pointer"(teases Sandy). Acknowledges his lack of control "out there." (9/6)

From this discussion, he moves to a consideration of a chart hanging high on the south wall. Assignments and problem areas for the seventh grade in oral and written language arts and grammar are contained there. Mr. Geoffrey explains these briefly. His comments flow easily and one might say naturally into a discussion of the text, the authors, table of contents and chapter one entitled "Sentences." He asks, "What do you expect to learn about sentences?" which cues several volunteer responses referring to parts of sentences and correctness of sentences. The speculative and hypothetical possibilities do not expand, spiral, or cumulate into fantasy, playfulness, or higher order abstractions. Such discourse is brief and functional for moving into the materials as presented by Pollock and Rounds.

With expression Mr. Geoffrey reads page one. He pauses on the concept "gesture," as he has with many other words in the past few days, asks for its meaning, and clarifies the responses he obtains. The lesson continues on pages 2 and 3. The substance is "Complete Thoughts" which leads into a definition of sentence. . ."a group of words that expresses a complete thought," and into a series of exercises requiring the children to take sentence fragments and make them into complete questions and declarative sentences. The notes contain several interpretive comments:

> (LMS--(1) As he proceeds with the lesson, the brunt of the teaching lies in the text. Need a statement of psychological learning principles underlying a text book and traditional teaching. (2) Kinds of illustrations--reflect categories in social systems and learning schemes.[19]

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18. "Out there"--refers to home and community. This will be expanded upon in Chapter 5.

19. Mr. Geoffrey made no comment on the Colorado-type camping and trout fishing picture on page one. The text author's verbal illustrative material on sentence fragments seems chosen from a wide base, e.g. two dollars a pair, bad accident, saw a flying saucer, etc.

> (3) Lesson proceeds by taking each item in the text and taking volunteers and occasionally calling on inattentive ones. Always by name.) (9/5)

Shortly after 11:00 A.M. he explains how written work should be done. This is also the topic on page four. "Correct form for Written Work". This leads into a language arts assignment which contains several elements: (1) The exercises on page five will be due tomorrow. (2) Sandy informs him that tomorrow is Saturday. (3) He responds with a joke. (4) He reads the directions to the exercise. (5) He completes with them the first item. (6) With humor he comments on the two groups of exercises, "We'll do both. I don't want to deny you anything."

As the class begins work, he has Sandy put the assignment on the board. She doesn't know what a colon is and this provokes an explanation. He moves about the room checking, correcting and explaining specific items with individual children. This movement up and down the rows evokes an explanation of reasons for wide aisles. As the children finish their work some take out library books, others work on spelling, a few talk quietly, and some volunteer to help him with posters and other chores. A series of announcements, e.g. U. S. Savings Stamps and delay in Physical Education scheduling, intersperse these activities. Just before noon Mr. Geoffrey comments:

> "Remember, there is school this afternoon. Let's have no Friday afternoon vacationers. Did I strike home? Come back on time, please."

At 11:58 the bell rings. The girls and then the boys line up. Mr. Geoffrey evens the two lines so that no stragglers exist among the girls or the boys. At twelve they file into the hall with Mr. Geoffrey leading. His class follows sequentially the priorities of rooms one and two. Rooms four and five fall in behind. Such an equilibrium began on the first day, continued all semester, and, from reports of teachers with many years of tenure, has been a part of the social structure for many years.

Afternoon Announcements

After lunch, at 1:15, Mr. Geoffrey "enters into some genial banter[20] over the loss of the afternoon recess." The loss of recess follows a directive from the Principal and illustrates the influence of broader school policy on the classroom. The Washington School received this year for the first time, several busloads of children from an overcrowded Negro area of the city. The intent was to lower the interaction between the groups in the hope of preventing overt conflict and incidents. The loss of recess was presented as general policy in many of the schools for the upper grade levels.[21]

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[20] As we will develop later, our definition of banter involves a minimum of three statements (pupil, teacher, pupil) and must involve humor.

In this instance the several children "argue" that they should be out of school at 3:20 instead of 3:30 since they have lost their ten minutes of recess. Mr. Geoffrey counters with a "collecting minutes" which are wasted or idled, "You'd be here until four o'clock." A series of "Oh, no" responses follow this. Thebanter terminates when Miss Eagle comes in regarding testing and grouping for reading. The class maintains its flavor of excitement and high feeling and Mr. Geoffrey reminds them that they are not to talk while he is busy with a visitor.

Arithmetic

At 1:11 arithmetic begins. Mr. Geoffrey's introduction replicates the approach to language arts in that the text: company, author, and location receive comment. Continuity with their book report format occurs also. Before he can obtain answers to "Why do we have arithmetic?", a messenger gomes in. He also corrects Rose for chatting while he is busy with the messenger. Interspersed with reasons for arithmetic is a general giddiness among the girls and requests for boys to raise the shades (more light) and windows (more air). Finally Mr. Geoffrey asks, "How many of you can do without arithmetic?" In keeping with the tenor of this afternoon many of the children raise their hands. Mr. Geoffrey gives them a long stare. He pinpoints Sam and then Sandy. "Sam, how many shoes do you put on in the morning?" And in rapid fire order he asks, "Who else had a hand up?" He spots Sandy and asks, "Sandy, how would you know when to get to school in the morning?" He tries to conclude, "All right, let's learn a little bit," but must squelch Susan's giggle before he begins reading on page four at twenty minutes past one.

Chapter One begins with a review discussion of number names, figures, and numbers. Mr. Geoffrey stresses the concepts as he reads the material and works through the examples from the text. We have inserted a copy of a part of page four as Figure 1.5 to picture precisely the content for the next hour possesses a curious kind of discontinuity of teaching, interruptions, supervisory attempts, pupil difficulties, etc.

Insert Figure 1.5 about here

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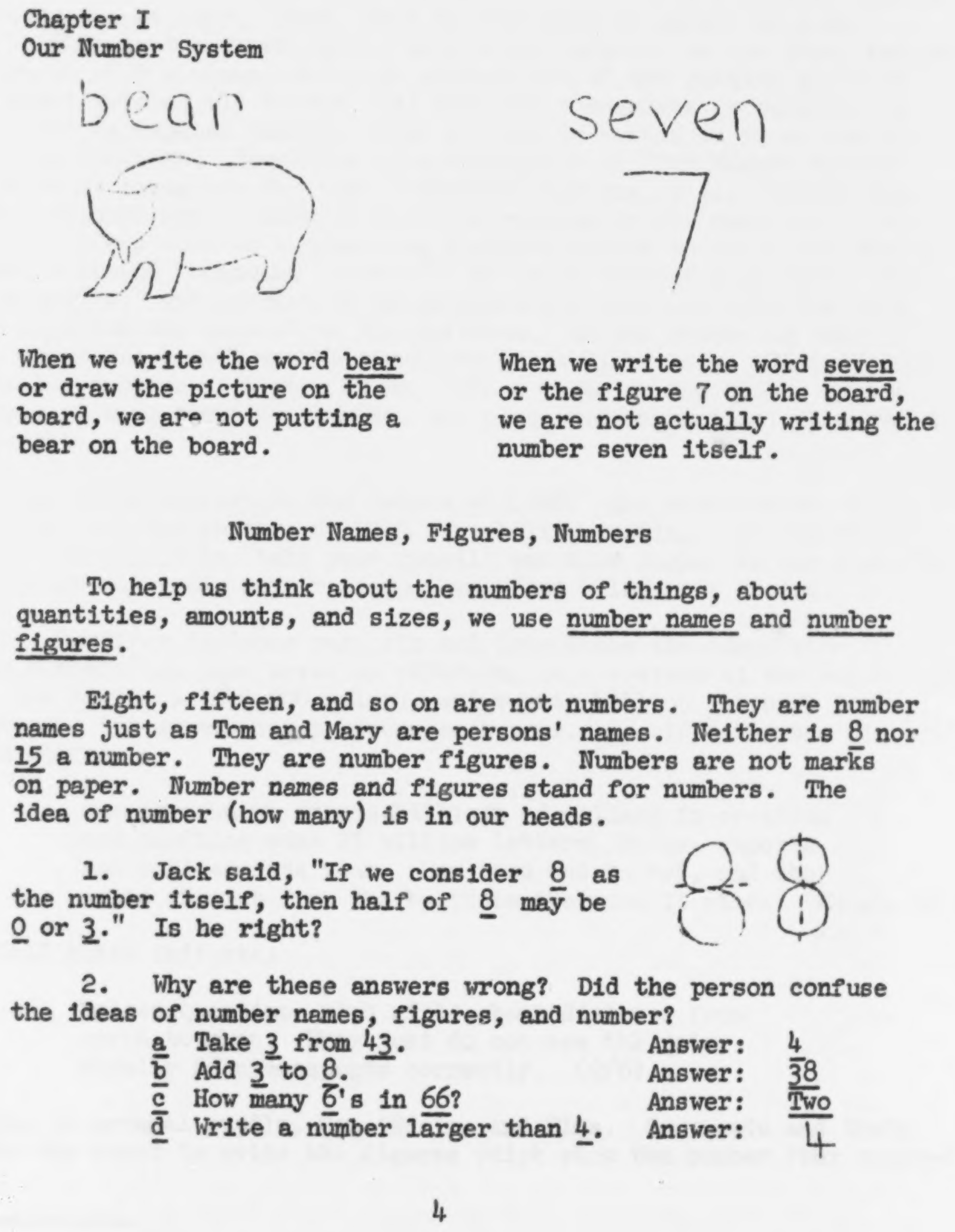
[21] The following year, recess was reinstituted. The Negro pupils were no longer transported, and the faculty, through the clerk, exerted pressure on the Principal. He had been reluctant but they desired an afternoon break. He met their wishes.



Chapter I
Our Number System

bear

seven

7

When we write the word bear or draw the picture on the board, we are not putting a bear on the board.

When we write the word seven or the figure 7 on the board, we are not actually writing the number seven itself.

Number Names, Figures, Numbers

To help us think about the numbers of things, about quantities, amounts, and sizes, we use number names and number figures.

Eight, fifteen, and so on are not numbers. They are number names just as Tom and Mary are persons' names. Neither is 8 nor 15 a number. They are number figures. Numbers are not marks on paper. Number names and figures stand for numbers. The idea of number (how many) is in our heads.

1. Jack said, "If we consider 8 as the number itself, then half of 8 may be 0 or 3." Is he right?

2. Why are these answers wrong? Did the person confuse the ideas of number names, figures, and number?

a	Take 3 from 43.	Answer:	4
b	Add 3 to 8.	Answer:	38
c	How many 6's in 66?	Answer:	Two
d	Write a number larger than 4.	Answer:	4

4

Figure 1.5. The initial page of the arithmetic text.

At 1:24 Mr. Geoffrey interrupts his statement, "The next few pages are going to be a review of arithmetic. Those who know it can take a test. . ."with a remark to Elma who has been shuffling a pile of papers on her desk. He says, "Elma, what is that pile of papers on your desk?" This is the first really very stern behavior on his part, and he follows it with a clear, forceful explanation of the resting place of assignment papers: (1) to him, (2) home for themselves or parents, or (3) to the wastepaper basket. They are not to remain in or on one's desk. He reads on. Page five is a discussion of "Our Number System" In the first paragraph the word "compound" appears, i.e., "Beyond ten we use compound names, each of which is related to the name ten." Mr. Geoffrey refers back to the morning spelling lesson in which the unit was built around "compound" words.[22] He reads through page five, "our number system," and carries on an interpretive dialogue with the text as he explains the content to the children. In the course of this Edwin drops his pencil and Mr. Geoffrey gives him a look. He continues in similar fashion with page seven, "Place value in the number system." Concepts such as quantity, number, and place are emphasized, illustrated and taught.

Miss Eagle interrupts the lesson at 1:38. She wants Sarah, Lonny and Helen, the new pupils, at 2:45 for ability testing. Mr. Geoffrey reminds the pupils to "take your pencil" and Miss Eagle, in her characteristic rough and ready way, reminds them, "And bring your brains."

Mr. Geoffrey finishes page six and introduces the discussion of "Large Numbers" on page seven by referring to a picture of the earth, the moon, the distance (240,000 miles), and twenty billion letters, forms, and reports the government produces each year. Specifically the picture's legend states:

> Our government spends billions of dollars in creating and handling some 25 billion letters, forms, reports, and notices each year. Lay them end to end, and they would stretch from the earth to the moon 13 times. (Wheat, et al, 1959)

The field notes indicate:

> Raises questions with girls about distance from earth to moon. They just do not see the point. Finally Lonny responds correctly. (9/6)

He calls on several pupils, Sam, Edwin, and Elma. Sam reads and Edwin goes to the board to write the figures which show the number four hundred seventy-five. The class checks the answer. To Elma who has kicked her shoes off his next comment is, "Elma, that means you have to keep your shoes on. We'll wait." In the meantime the paper monitors pass out small sheets of paper. He does problem 16, six thousand, five hundred three. Next he calls on Molly: "c, Molly. Now don't look at me that way child, just go up and do it." The notes capture the next few minutes:

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[22] Parenthetically, we might add that none of the spelling words was a number.

> Errs with "1,200,000" instead of 1 billion 200 thousand. Banter with girls about their neutrality (over correctness of Molly's answer). Eileen to board. "Sandy, go to the board and answer 1c. We want no shrinking violets in here." Gives Sam a look to quell a growing snicker. Molly returns with another try.

1,200,000	Molly	
1,200000	Eileen	
1,200,000	Sandy	
1,200,000,000	Molly	(9/6)

He asks then for everyone to write "1c" on his paper. A messenger interrupts at this point (1:52 PM) and while Mr. Geoffrey sorts through a file of cards at his desk several pupils, Pete and Billy, Davey and Sam, etc. compare answers. Shortly, Mr. Geoffrey walks about the class and nods yes and no to each pupil according to the correctness of his answer. He re-emphasizes "place" meanings and then develops an extended illustration around 987, 654, 321. After this he returns to "1c" and has Molly, Billy and Eileen go to the board and redo their problem. The notes catch an additional point:

> With humor to counteract their embarrassment he tells them he will keep them up there even though it is embarrassing. (9/6)

He has everyone try "1d," eight million nine thousand, forty-seven, and he checks papers as he walks around the room. Thelma, 8,900,047, Allison, 8,009,047 (she checked with Edwin before) and Billy 8,000,000,947, all go to the board and write their answers. Mr. Geoffrey with humor mimics the television program as he comments, "Will the real one stand up?" He goes back to his chart and the extended illustration and starts the three pupils in reworking their answers. While Thelma is at the board Miss Holt comes in and Jim and Pete are sent out as messengers. Billy goes to the board and changes his answer. Molly is called on for "1e," nine hundred one million. She writes 9,000,100, and Mr. Geoffrey calls her back to correct her answer. They then take up problem two in the text, "Copy these numbers, pointing them off in periods. Then read each number." He directs, "Read the first number loud and clear, Davey." In rapid order Dick, Sandy, Elma and Allison are called on. There is some humor at Allison's expense for she is at the wrong place. She retorts in kind.[23] Mr. Geoffrey has her go to the board. At 2:25 he selects two additional items from the teacher's manual. They spend a few minutes on 2,575,400,000 heart beats. Mr. Geoffrey introduces some banter, admonishes Thelma for not writing an answer, i.e., "I'm not too happy when there's nothing down." The lesson concludes with several "mental arithmetic" problems such as two plus three, plus five, divide by two and subtract three. He comments that beginning Monday they will have a little of this regularly.

While Mr. Geoffrey passes out the history books to a pupil who had not received copies and has them numbered and filed, the other pupils sit or talk quietly. Before they begin Mr. Geoffrey asks if he gave them an arithmetic assignment. He checks his book and comments, "We'll stop there and not have an assignment. . . .I'll let you off this weekend."

Social Studies

At 2:47 he introduces the history text.[24] He indicates they will start in the middle and later move to their other book, America's Story. Besides a discussion of why the book might have a title including the word "backgrounds," Mr. Geoffrey comments that many pupils find history least interesting, and that he would try to make it interesting. The lesson continues as Dick is called upon to begin reading on page two-hundred fifty. This is section four, Ancient African Civilizations, of Unit Four, Growing through the middle ages.[25] The dialogue of text, teacher, pupil, begins as Dick is helped by Sam in pronouncing "Phoenicians" and as the concepts of continent (in contrast to island and penninsula) and civilization are explored. Elma contributes the names of most of the continents in response to Mr. Geoffrey's question. Sam reads the second paragraph. Allison defines civilization as "people who are decent." Davey and Dick try. Someone suggests, "People who live together in a certain town." Edwin reads the definition from the glossary in the back of the book. They conclude on "way of life of a large group of people." Allison, Edwin and Sarah all read. Mr. Geoffrey pauses on 740 B.C. in the sentence, "About 740 B.C. an Ethiopian king conquered Egypt." Dick responds to Mr. Geoffrey's question that B.C.

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[23] The notes don't contain her verbatim comment; rather there is the interpretive statement, "She fires right back."

[24] McGuire, Edna, Backgrounds of American Freedom, N.Y.: MacMillan 1953.

[25] The earlier units: "Learning to live together" (the stone age), "Developing civilizations" (Egypt, Babylonia, etc.) and "Living around the Mediterranean" (Greece and Rome) had been studied in the sixth grade.

means "Before Christ." He quizzes them on "A.D." and many of the pupils miss. He draws a simple time line, 740 ________/________________ 1963, and asks them how long ago it was. Dick contributes, "It's long ago and hard to tell." Edwin suggests, "Subtract 740 from 1963." Sarah says, "Add." Mr. Geoffrey then raises a discussion around a coin which was dated 63 B.C.. He asks if it's real; he criticizes Allison for talking out loud; and then comments that he would throw it away as a fake. When he asks why, Sandy comments that they didn't use B.C. that long ago. When he asks why she responds that she doesn't know, and Mr. Geoffrey leaves the problem as an unanswered question for them to puzzle over. Just after he begins oral reading of the history text, Miss Eagle interrupts the lesson once again to talk briefly with Mr. Geoffrey. The section on Ethiopia is finished by Jimmie, Allison and Sarah, who is the best reader so far (in the observer's judgment). The lesson concludes on a brief map exercise which begins with pupils identifying Ethiopia and North America and concludes with them identifying the continents and Oceans. Pete, Billy or Davey's inability to find Asia provokes a comment from Mr. Geoffrey, "Do I have to let a girl?" Several girls have trouble finding the various oceans and Mr. Geoffrey rebukes Allison for speaking out, "It's wrong."

At 3:23, the activity shifts from history to what might be called the daily terminal ritual. This involves the cleaning of individual desks, the chalk boards and the room and the putting away of books, chalk, erasers, and paper. The ritual involves directions from Mr. Geoffrey: "Clean your desks except for what you're taking home," "Remember you have a book report due Wednesday," "There's been too much talking out during the lessons, only one person at a time; raise your hand and everyone will have an equal opportunity," and "School is business; come back on Monday ready to work." The day almost concludes with his comment, "Girls line up" then "Boys," but a good bit of chatter occurs and he tells the boys to return to the seats. The girls continue to chatter and he has them return to their seats. He comments, "If that were a test you'd fail. In passing I want you to be quiet. Try boys first this time." He evens up the two lines, and has the girls come up to the door behind them. With humor he comments that, "You don't have to hold hands as they do in the primary grades." He speaks briefly and privately to Allison. The pupils file out into the hall and wait their turn to follow the higher grades down the stairs and out of the building.

Chapter Two

Classroom Processes: The Development of Social Structure

The general educational psychological literature abounds in research centering about classroom social structure. While most educators use sociometric data as indicators of a usually undifferentiated construct of structure, our observations lead us to an analysis in slightly different terms. The issues with which we will deal center not only on differentiated structure but also on process, the development of structure. Essentially, we want to analyze the system in action and we want to focus on the teacher as he attempts to intervene (guide, if one needs a more positively toned word) as a member of the system. From its inception, the research had a strong orientation toward understanding the sequence of events centering on the teacher's coping with the children and the planning and strategy which lay behind the coping. Equally, we were concerned with the changing press of events, the teacher's perception of those events, the thinking, and altered action that followed upon these perceptions. The aspects of social structure which we discriminate at this point are roles, belief systems, norms, subgroup interactional structure, and activity structure.

Ultimately we will present an extended network of concepts and their interrelationships which will be useful for the teacher. They will include such items as social system, activities, interactions, sentiments, group goals, conflict, and so forth. Such a list of relevant concepts will possess a very important characteristic, we assume that they will be both necessary and sufficient for describing any elementary classroom. In effect, we mean that careful attention to each of these will enable one to understand the totality of the class. An omission of any one will leave one's analysis partial and incomplete. Parenthetically, we are aware of the tenuousness of the assumption, yet it places the burden on the critic to indicate omissions and to produce a broader and more fruitful point of view.

Pupil Roles and Belief Systems

For our purposes we will define a classroom role as a complex pattern of activities, interactions, and sentiments. In this sense it is an abstraction we have found useful in analyzing classroom groups. A belief system might be called, roughly, a common perception by members of the group. We would distinguish it from a group norm which contains an evaluative element, i.e., what group members ought to do. In many situations norms and beliefs overlap dramatically. Also, in most groups the roles and the belief systems complement each other. Interdependencies exist for belief systems are frequently about roles, and roles come about partly because the belief systems exist. We have been trying to build taxonomies of the roles and belief systems.

Monitor's Roles

If we distinguish, superficially for the moment, between the roles Mr. Geoffrey builds consciously and difectly from those he builds unconsciously or at least indirectly, then we can order several aspects of the first day. The "jobs" in the class consist of librarian, assignment recorder, chalk and eraser monitor, and distributor of paper. Deliberately he sought to develop ideas that certain kinds of activities and interactions were required if the room were to function smoothly. He tried also to establish individuals as incumbents of the roles. For illustrative purposes we can return to the "keeper of the assignment board." When he tried out Molly and then settled on Sandy, he commented explicitly on the behavioral requisites of the role, "Best attendance and best handwriting usually get the assignment job." In Figure 2.1 we have tried to diagram the events of the episode.

Insert Figure 2.1 about here

This first model should be read in this fashion. On the vertical axis we have represented three classes of variables: Mr. Geoffrey's personality and behavior, the behavior of two individual pupils, Molly and Sandy, and group variables--belief system and sentiment. On the horizontal axis we have broken time into seven steps. At time one, Mr. Geoffrey announces the specific demands of the assignment role--good attendance and good handwriting. At time 2, Molly volunteers and there is the beginning belief system that persons must be adequate to the task. At time 3 Molly's performance is not adequate--although to this point on an unspecified criterion--spelling ability. At times 4 and 5, we hypothesize that this creates dissonance within Mr. Geoffrey and the class. This, in turn, leads to Mr. Geoffrey's request for Sandy to go to the blackboard. The replacement of Molly and the reduction in the dissonance is followed at times 7 and 8 with Sandy's more adequate performance and the stabilizing of the belief that there is such a role as assignment monitor and that it must be carried out by someone adequate to its demands.

The Role of Pupil

As was related in the account of the first morning, Mr. Geoffrey in a brief seven minutes sketched out many of his ideas of the pupil role. In effect this was the first gambit toward formulating a belief system regarding rules among the pupils. Ultimately it was his hope that it would become stabilized as a group norm. For our analytic purposes, it raises several additional aspects of a more overarching model. Lying behind Mr. Geoffrey's verbal behavior regarding chewing gum in class, leaving the room, arriving on time, doing homework, and so forth is his own personal schema of the nature of the pupil role.

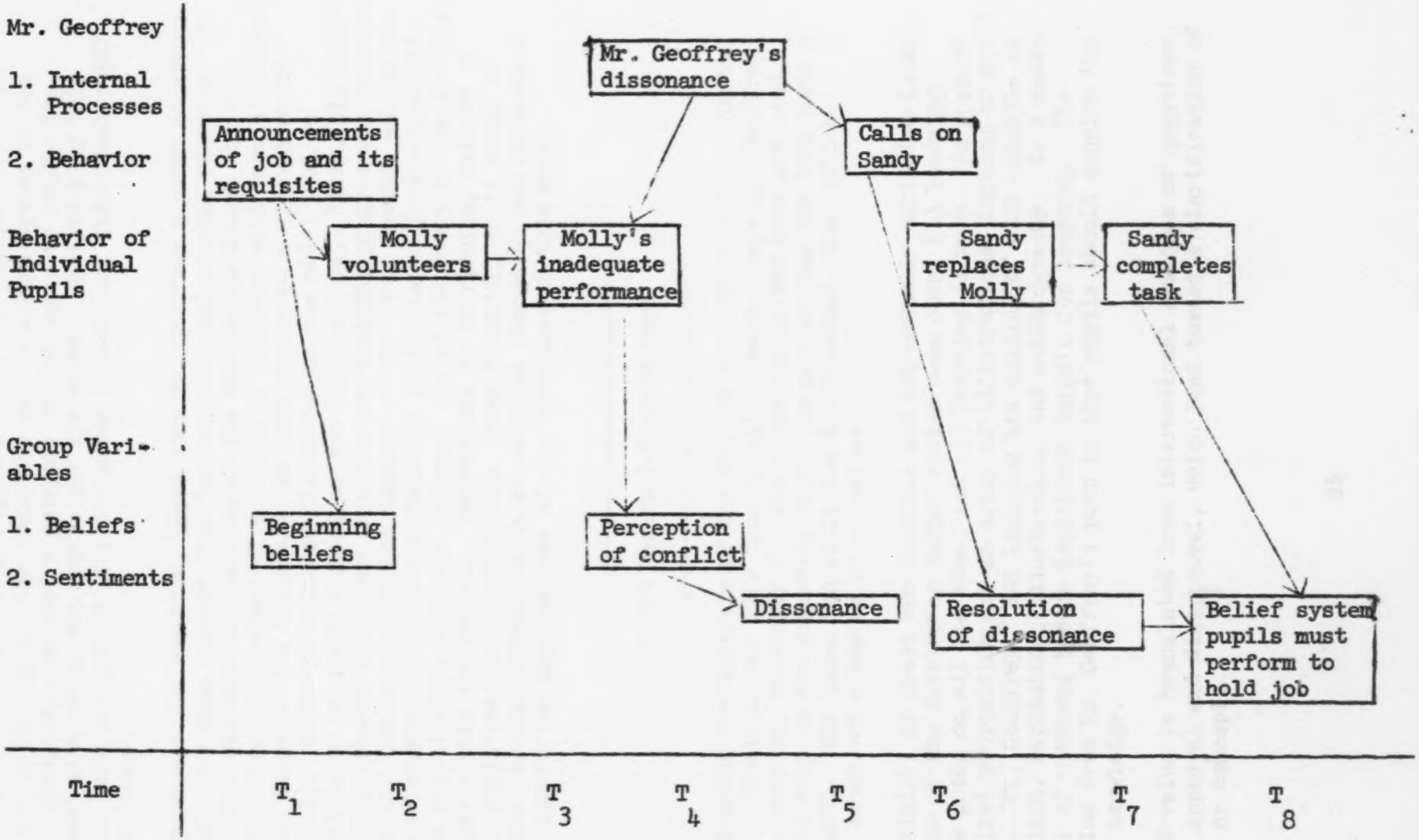
Mr. Geoffrey
1. Internal Processes
2. Behavior
Behavior of Individual Pupils
Group Variables
1. Beliefs
2. Sentiments
Time
Announcements of job and its requisites
Mr. Geoffrey's dissonance
Calls on Sandy
Molly volunteers
Molly's inadequate performance
Sandy replaces Molly
Sandy completes task
Beginning beliefs
Perception of conflict
Dissonance
Resolution of dissonance
Belief system pupils must perform to hold job
T_1
T_2
T_3
T_4
T_5
T_6
T_7
T_8

Figure 2.1. A process analysis of the development of monitor roles and belief systems.

The model we have presented in Figure 2.1 must be extended now with another set of variables, the cognitive map or schema system of the teacher. Similarly, we need a category of phenomena to handle the "quickness" with which the pupils got his point. Analytically this could fall into categories of prior group beliefs and individual pupil schema or ideas.

When we ask the question, Where does Mr. Geoffrey's point of view come from?, our data suggest that two sources predominate, the five years of give and take in teaching at the Washington School and the belief and normative systems of a clique of teachers with whom he shares the second floor of the building. We have presented a figural model (Figure 2.2). Although extended discussion of the model will be held until later we would comment on two implications. First, his experience at City Teacher's College in a teacher training program was perceived as unreal and inadequate for the demands of the job. Second, anyone who attempts to change his classroom behavior must come to grips--theoretically and practically, with the informal social structure of the faculty, the cliques within the school. Innovations in curriculum, methods of teaching, pupil-teacher relationships often flounder, so it seems to us, because persons interested in educational change do not understand or else, ignore the implications of the variables in this model.

Insert Figure 2.2 about here

Continuing the analysis of the role of student or pupil: "You've had a nice vacation, now it's time to get to work," says Mr. Geoffrey on Friday morning, September 6. For those pupils who have not read the verbal cues on the preceding days, the meaning has now been made a step clearer. For those who still don't understand, they will be informed later--on a number of occasions.

Initially, at least two possible and non-mutually exclusive interpretations of the developing belief system seem open: (1) learning should be going on all the time, and (2) learning is work. In support of the first proposition are an array of illustrations--learning to spell his name, "Mr. Geoffrey," and learning the meaning of such concepts as superstition, reputation, illustration, and autobiography. In a sense, all kinds of unknowns become legitimate targets for learning. The expectation from Mr. Geoffrey's part is that pupils should acquire the relevant knowledge.

This value is translated into interactional episodes of questions, answers, approval and disapproval, which lead toward a clarification of the item or concept.

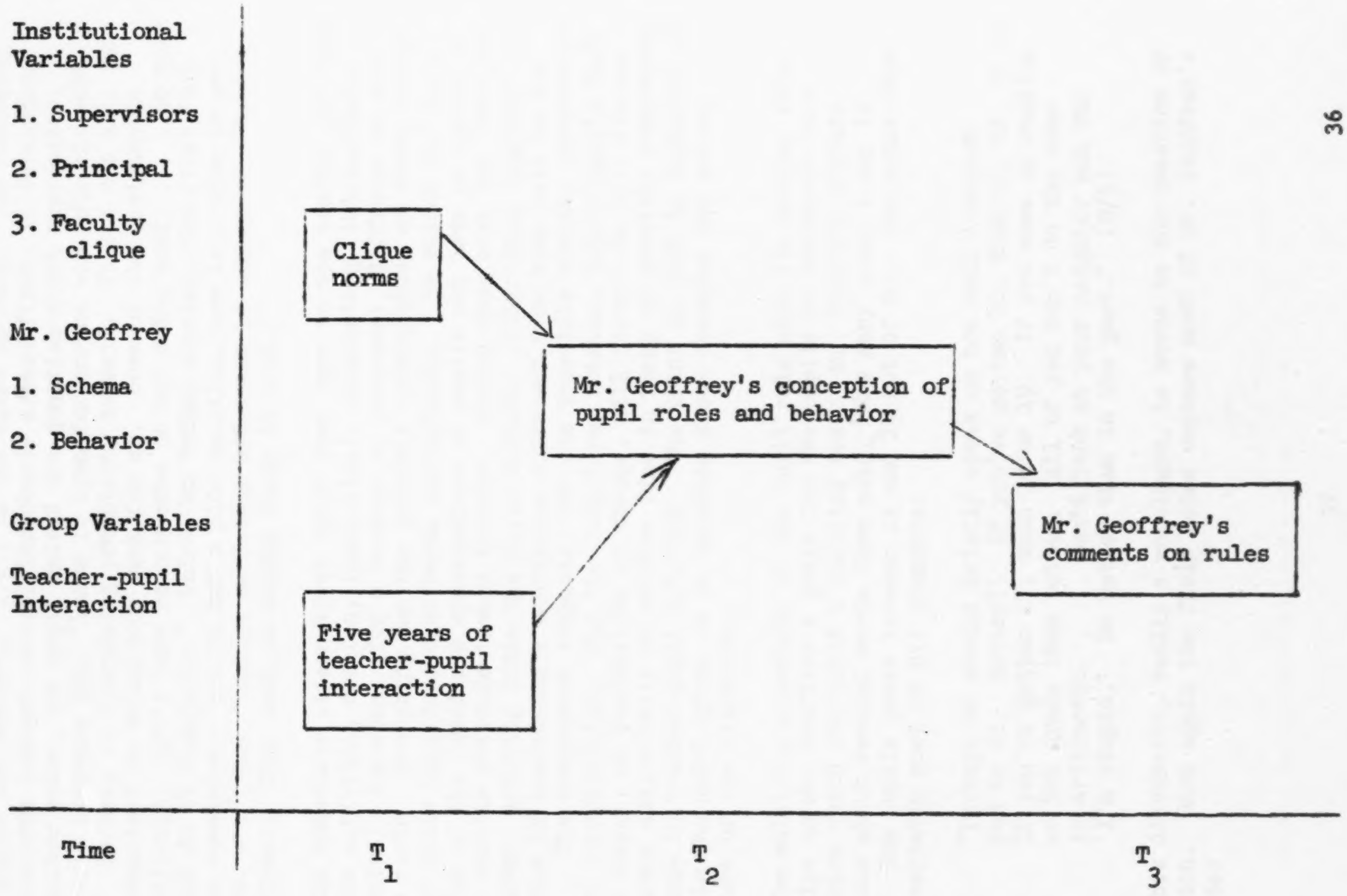
Institutional Variables
1. Supervisors
2. Principal
3. Faculty clique
Mr. Geoffrey
1. Schema
2. Behavior
Group Variables
Teacher-pupil Interaction
Clique norms
Five years of teacher-pupil interaction
Mr. Geoffrey's conception of pupil roles and behavior
Mr. Geoffrey's comments on rules
Time
T 1
T 2
T 3

Figure 2.2. A process analysis of Mr. Geoffrey's behavior regarding classroom rules and pupil roles.

The second and more emphatic view which Mr. Geoffrey represents is that "learning is work". Also there is the correlated phenomenon that "pupils are workers," i.e., in the class to work. The following illustrations connect several improbable areas: first, in developing the monitor roles, one pupil raised the question about messengers. Geoffrey's response was, "Leave it open for anyone who gets his work done." Second, in discussing promotion, he said, "That's not all, the most important is doing your work for me. Some of the assignments are difficult. Let's have no nonsense on not doing work. . . . Do your best and do it regularly." Third, on Friday morning, the first full day, he commented, "You've had a nice vacation, now it's time to get to work. . .", and finally, on Friday afternoon he commented, "School is business. Come back on Monday ready to work."

The immediate alternatives which seem open to the teacher are that academic activities are fun, (game-like), interesting (intrinsically attractive), important (for a variety of purposes), difficult or easy and so forth. Sketching out the possible consequences of these points of view while hazardous also seems enlightening. It raises the basic question of the immediate consequences of pupils who have an apathetic if not hostile attitude toward schools. Facing them with the "reality" of academic activity joins the issue directly rather than "masking" the issue by presenting a conception different from that held by the pupils. The congruence suggests, for the immediate moment, understanding and communication. For the long term, however, this suggests that little change, or possibility of change, will occur. We will discuss this issue analytically at another time in terms of possible strategies of change in teacher-pupil activity. The point we wish to emphasize is the help the model gives us in thinking about changing the social structure of the classroom.

The multidimensionality of the pupil role with its complex relationships to Mr. Geoffrey's goals for the pupils is indicated in a discussion which concluded a spelling test. Mr. Geoffrey answers questions about several words then asks, "How many would I say is good?" The pupils guess between 15 and 19 out of 20. The notes then catch verbatim most of his comments:

> "Perhaps we should briefly speak on how well I expect you to do. Better!! If you've gotten 10, then 11, 12, or 13. If you've gotten 17, then 18 or 19. If you come in reading at 5th grade then better. All of you don't do the same in arithmetic. . . . Don't look at your neighbor and say 'I'm stupid.' Do better than in the past." (9/5)

From this discussion, really a monologue, he moves to the question of promotion. Once again the field notes capture most of Mr. Geoffrey's comments:

> "I'll speak frankly. In May you take tests on reading, spelling, and arithmetic. You must make a certain level on those. They are not set too high. That's not all. The most important thing is doing your work for me. Let's have no nonsense on not doing work. Book reports. . . . Assignments. See me if in doubt. . . . If you fall behind you will never catch up. . . . Do your best and do it regularly." (9/5)

The class listens attentively to the statements.

A final aspect of the role of pupil which was stressed in this first morning and reiterated throughout the semester, concerns the responsibility of the child to his individual teacher. Recall Mr. Geoffrey's statement:

> "You all know where to go at recess. . . . Behave yourself in the yard. Nothing is worse than having you brought to me by another teacher for nonsense."

While this defines clearly that a major sin exists if a pupil needs to be reprimanded by another teacher, it indicates latently a need for the analysis of the staff relationships and the manner in which teacher-teacher interaction is mutually dependent with teacher-pupil interaction. In effect, pupils "belong" to a teacher. If they don't behave, questions are raised about his classroom control and his adequacy for carrying out his role as teacher. The subtleties of this are conveyed by Mr. Geoffrey's own account:

> When one must admonish, correct, or punish a child in his own room who misbehaves, he may do this as he wishes. He may even ignore the situation. On the other hand, if another teacher brings him one of his students who has misbehaved, he must do something, and it must be fitting. Frankly, at some times, this may be a pain in the neck.
>
> Also, pupils do belong to a teacher. But, if they don't behave, this does not necessarily cause questions to be raised regarding the "owner's" classroom control. The critical thing is the owner's reputation. If he has a reputation for lack of control, then this is a shrug of the shoulders and a "Well, what do you expect." But some teachers (e.g., Mrs. Holt) have excellent classroom control and yet their kids can raise hell elsewhere--playground, gym, etc.. This in no way reflects back upon that teacher. Rather it raises her status--after all, she can control those problems and I can't. Also, one might ask if the very fact of her strong control of students under her thumb might not have some bearing on their behavior while in someone else's hair.

> No, I would say that student's behavior (bad) while absent from his owner, casts no cloud upon that teacher. A teacher is judged by what happens in his teacher-pupil interaction, which is 90% of the time. He is not judged by what his kids do in the 10% of the time they are away from him.
>
> My comments are also made to the students in order to try, feebly, perhaps, to make the job of the teacher on duty easier and to cut down on the amount of time I have to spend out in the hall after recesses, etc..

With the isolation of the belief system construct we have continuing interests in the processes by which they are established and the content of the belief. In an early language arts lesson, the children have been reviewing the use of the dictionary--the sequential character of the alphabet, guide words, and the content of the dictionary.[1] As the children wrote the guide words on the board, Sarah asked about the word "trachery" which Eileen has put on the board. Geoffrey sends Eileen back up to correct it, i.e. to make it "treachery." The observer notes a comment which receives corroboration time and again later:

> This seems critical also. Without fanfare Geoffrey has the erring one always back to correct his or her own mistakes. Implicit rule--if you don't do it right you'll do it again. (9/10)

The consequence of such a belief system seems to be an accent on doing tasks carefully and correctly. The process seems rather simple--at least at first blush--that you please the teacher by getting the correct answers the first time and you save yourself the public embarrassment of several trips to the board. Embarrassment, in this class, has its complexities also. First, Geoffrey almost never humiliated a child for an error in his work.[2] Second, the children often showed a variety of signs of discomfort when they had difficulty with an oral presentation at the board. Third, on a number of occasions, Geoffrey would make interpretive comments indicating his awareness of their discomfort and the need to continue trying if they were to learn the knowledge or skill at hand.

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[1] The reader should note the implications for our "Ability Problem" discussion in Chapter Four. These seventh grade children have difficulty with important skills.

[2] Later we will describe incidents wherein kids who "didn't try" felt his wrath.

While we took few learning measures, learning was slow and difficult in the view of our direct observation. The tutorial procedure involved in boardwork of "cues, trial, feedback and trial" has many precedents and much support in learning theory. Careful experimental work seems necessary to isolate the potential inhibiting effects of the emotional reactions in a public performance on the child at the board, and the value of the vicarious experience for the observing children at their seats.

The argument we would make is that belief systems about the pupil roles in engaging in academic activities were being built in a less conscious but latently similar manner to the deliberately developed monitor roles we have just described. The model is viable in that it provides a possibility for including alternative conceptions of academic activities.

Sex roles

More subtly, although only slightly, was the development of social roles around the sex of the members. Boys are boys and girls are girls, and later as we shall see, overtones of "vive la difference" occur. Most obviously, boys hang wraps on one side of the cloakroom and girls on the other. Lines for dismissal are by sex. The records are replete with "Girls line up." Then, "Boys line up. . . ." More subtle aspects occur when "strong arms" are needed by Mr. Geoffrey or by other teachers. When he needs ". . .thumb tackers? Boys. . .it's difficult for girls to climb up." (9/5) And a new girl who is surrounded by boys receives Sam's seat so she "will not be lost among the boys." The teaching and learning here seems to fit our analysis of roles as patterns of activities, interactions, and sentiments which reflect or coincide with group beliefs. Mr. Geoffrey subtly interacts in ways that suggest, clarify and support the formation of the roles and the related belief systems.

The Readers

As we indicated in the field notes:

> A few of the children are reading--Sam, Dick, Oliver, Helen, Lonny, Davey, Kent and Ben. (9/6)

Similarly on Monday:

> 8:33: In room as pupils come in today.[3] Boys in first. Minimal conversation. Kent drops gum off. Sam, Kent, Ben begin reading. (9/9)

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[3] In contrast to standing at head of stairs and chatting with the teachers.

These children through little coercion, except for the comments about book reports, and through little positive reinforcement began what became a very stable mode of behavior. When not pressed by assignments and when time was free, as in the first minutes of the morning, they spent their time reading. This aspect of the student role raises a number of questions about non-teacher and non-classroom sources of social structure. We will contrast this with the differences in the pupils who arrive after the "Days of Indian Summer."

Individual Roles

The most subtle aspect of role development proceeds only half consciously to teachers and children. It reflects the type of situation in which a teacher is prone to wonder why a particular child behaves as he does in the class. The antecedents of the role are so small, are so fitting to the momentary situation, such nuances in pupil and teacher behavior, that their contribution to the genesis of the role remains hidden.

The Court Jester

Within a month, one of the boys, Sam, had developed a special role of court jester. He shuffled about the classroom in a Jackie Gleason style. Physically he was heavy set and wore his hair uncut and his beltless bluejeans hung low on his hips. On occasion, he gamboled tardily into class with a smile and a big "Hi, Mr. Geoffrey." Another time, after volunteering an answer to a question, he responded to a "Raise your hand, Sam" with both arms waving vigorously. In a tense situation he had a ready quip and freely entered and exited in a banter or tete-a-tete relationship with Mr. Geoffrey.

Here was a boy who behaved very differently from most of the other children. While the role in this instance was quite functional for it brought fun and lightness into the class and it provided Mr. Geoffrey with a challenge and an occasion for his own quick humor to be aroused, in many instances such a role can be detrimental to group purposes. Three weeks after the beginning of school we were puzzled regarding Sam's evolution. When we went back and carefully analyzed the notes, we were surprised to find what had happened.

On the first day Sam had been teased sympathetically about possible tardiness and being at Rhody's Confectionary before school. Second, he had been given book number 13 and involved in teasing about superstitions. Third, he was called on to help Molly spell "chalk." Fourth, he volunteered to help in supply room and was teased with the others about running off to play baseball. And fifth, he was pinpointed humorously regarding the fire-drill. He had been extended five invitations, far more than any others (only Sandy and Billy received any frequencies in being singled out and they alternately took special roles). Day by day such interaction accumulated into a role and a related belief system.

The second day contained several more instances of Mr. Geoffrey's public attention to Sam. One of these seemed particularly significant; it occurred during the spelling lesson as the papers were being corrected. Each pupil was entitled to one chance to respond. The teacher had made this clear with references such as, "You've had one" to both Allison and Kent. Mr. Geoffrey gave to Sam the word "tardy" and received the retort, "I've had one." He, Mr. Geoffrey, then commented, "I'm giving you this one special."

To us, importance lies also in the fact that Sam is a pupil who failed seventh grade last year with Mr. Geoffrey. He did little or no work, then. He also has a high degree of skill in repartee. Few of the pupils could respond with the "wise humor" appropriate to the context. Also he responded well to termination cues from Mr. Geoffrey. Banter contains several such fundamental attributes.

Also, we should comment further about the teacher's role in this instance. The observer had not realized until he went back and checked the names of the pupils who had been given opportunities to suggest answers and compared them with the names of the children called on after Sam's episode in which he had a second turn. The next four pupils who were called upon had already given one answer. In the space of a few minutes, Sam's role had been extended and the teacher had built another subtle aspect of the pupil belief system regarding his own role--fair and equitable.[4] Figure 2.3 contains the sequence of events.

Insert Figure 2.3 about here

Additional insight is provided from comments made by Mr. Geoffrey:

> Teaching at Washington School can have a deadening effect on a normal, live, somewhat eager individual. To work day after day with pupils whose aspirations and abilities are so typical of the culturally disadvantaged child--aspirations and abilities which need no description in these comments--is to court frustration and defeatism. After a while, even what appeared to be sensational in the beginning becomes commonplace.

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[4] This kind of subtlety and complexity in the teacher's behavior is returned to in Chapter Five.

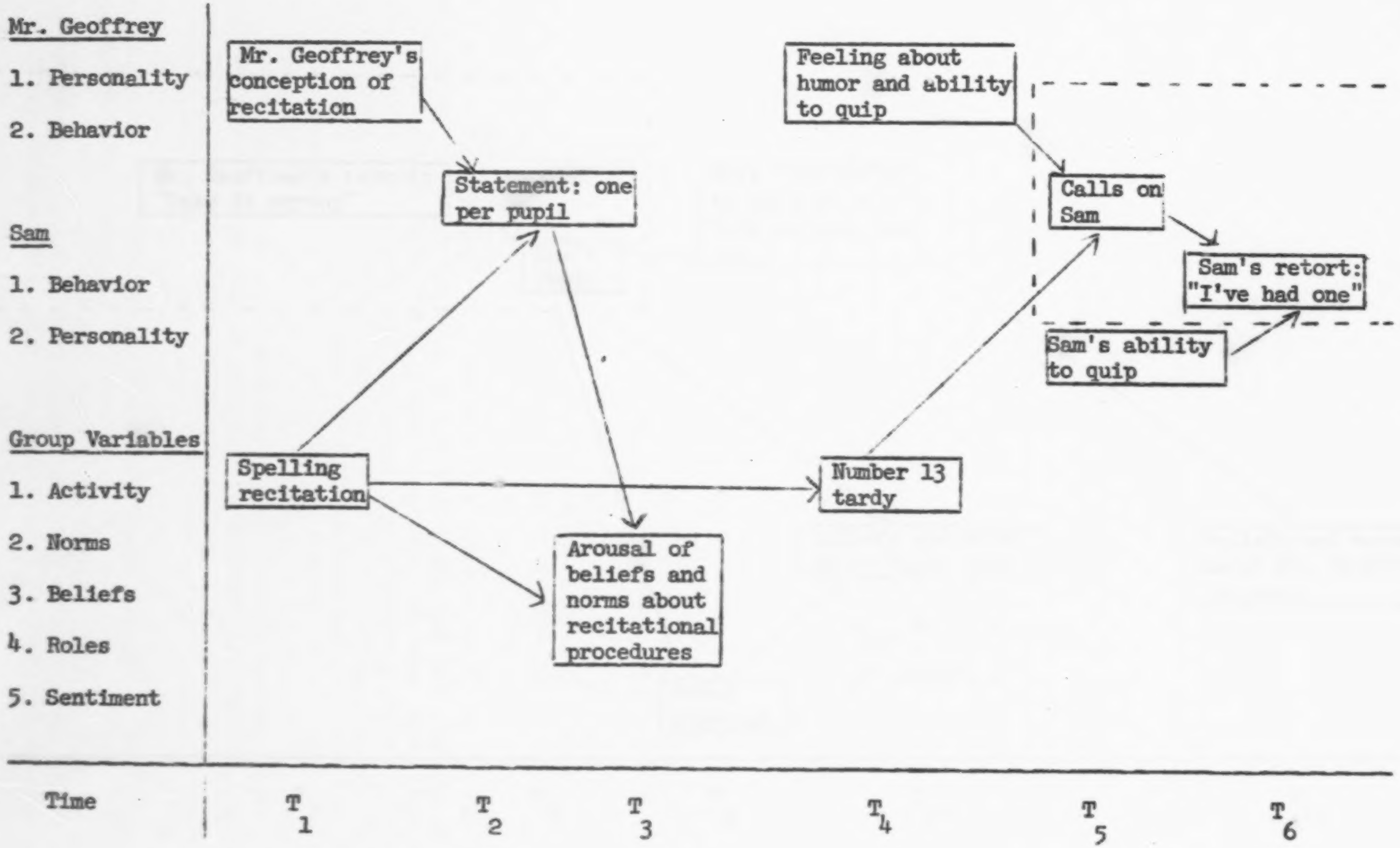
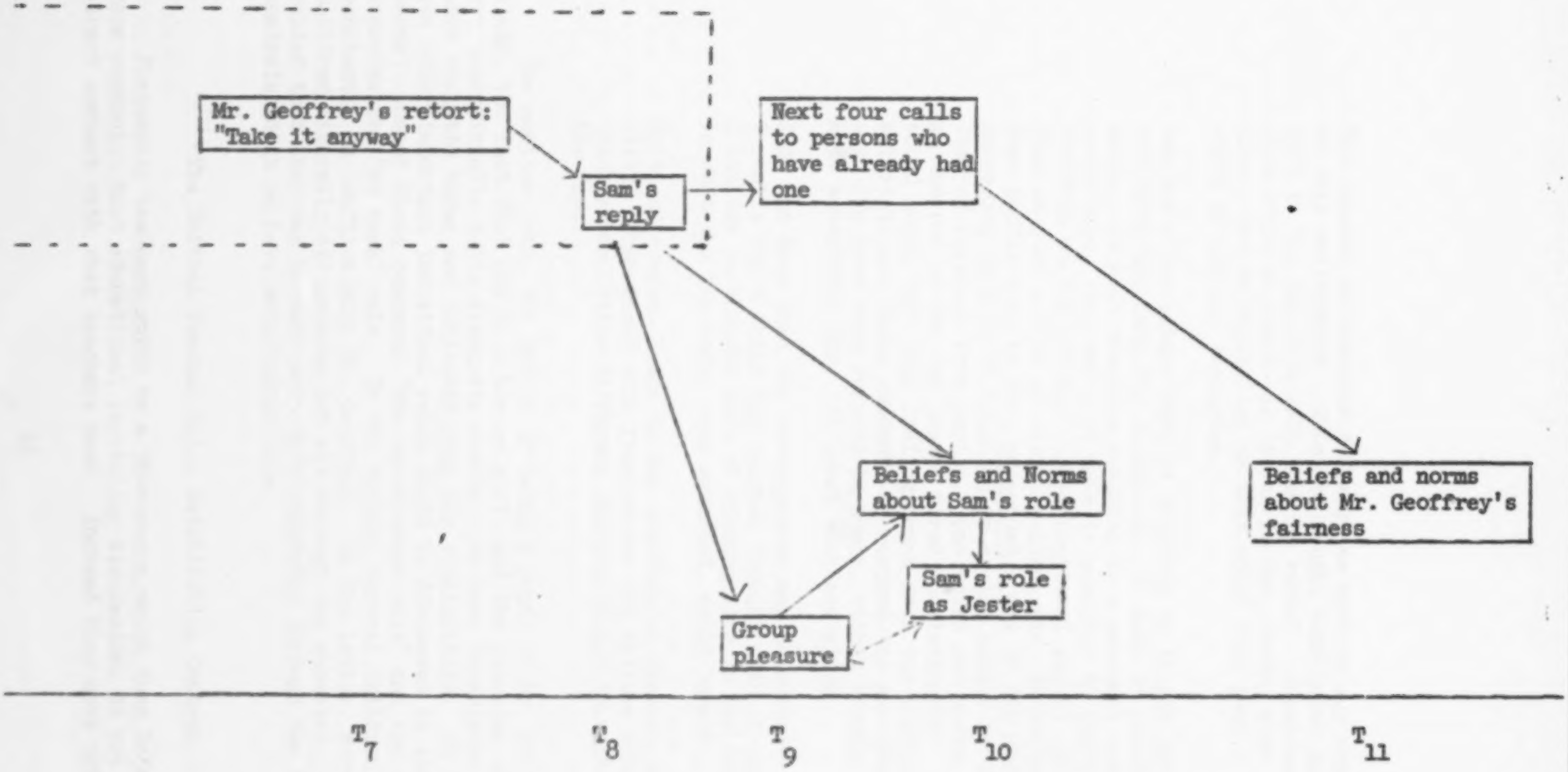

Mr. Geoffrey
1. Personality
2. Behavior
Sam
1. Behavior
2. Personality
Group Variables
1. Activity
2. Norms
3. Beliefs
4. Roles
5. Sentiment
Time
Mr. Geoffrey's conception of recitation
Statement: one per pupil
Spelling recitation
Arousal of beliefs and norms about recitational procedures
Number 13 tardy
Feeling about humor and ability to quip
Calls on Sam
Sam's retort: "I've had one"
Sam's ability to quip
T1
T2
T3
T4
T5
T6

Figure 2.3. A process analysis of an interactional episode of Geoffrey and Sam and its implications. (continued)


Mr. Geoffrey's retort: "Take it anyway"
Sam's reply
Next four calls to persons who have already had one
Beliefs and Norms about Sam's role
Beliefs and norms about Mr. Geoffrey's fairness
Sam's role as Jester
Group pleasure
T_7
T_8
T_9
T_{10}
T_{11}

Continuation of Figure 2.3. A process analysis of an interactional episode of Geoffrey and Sam and its implications.

> The teacher in question suffered as much as any other in this environment. Thus, he sought some humor and life in the children with whom he worked. Sometimes this could be found--as it was in Sam, Sandy, even Elma. Not to capitalize on this would have been a waste of natural resources.
>
> Sam and a few others made it possible to inject joking and bantering into the classroom. It made it possible to smile. It made possible teaching in a personal and, I would hope, kind way. It made it possible to treat some children as individuals (non-educational sense) rather than as just a blob of dirty, sullen, etc. individuals. Some pupils such as Sam, responded. One of the most discouraging aspects of teaching in a slum school is the lack of response from pupils. One works and works, and at the end of the day leaves tired and irritable. I would guess that this feeling comes from the continual effort to get these students to respond--in any acceptable way. To have them respond in humor, within bounds, is a most acceptable way. At least they are alive.
>
> I do not deny that the consequences may be subject to question. I really don't think the teacher thought much of consequences. I believe be thought more of finding life in the body than in what way the body, once awakened, would behave.
>
> This, of course, leads to the question of teacher personality. When faced with frustration and failure other teachersmay follow different courses to get through the days.

The monitor jobs, the nature of being a pupil in Mr. Geoffrey's class, the fact that one is a boy or girl, and the clowning of one pupil are superficially quite disparate events. We have formulated them in more analytic terms and indicated some key similarities. At least two other important individual roles could be discussed in similar terms. One of these concerns "the troublesome role" and the other concerns the "no work" role. In the former, several children were constantly in conflict with Mr. Geoffrey. In the latter, several children literally did nothing but sit through the semester. It is our belief that they can be made more understandable through the kind of analysis which we have entertained here.

The Initial Teacher Role: Establishing Control

Frequently teachers refer to a phenomenon which they label classroom control. Most educational psychology discussions do not make direct contact with what teachers mean. Instead they move into discussions of discipline problems, mental health outcomes, and terminological confusion centering on "democracy" in the classroom. The thesis we wish to state is quite simple: classroom control refers to a relationship of teacher direction, usually verbal, followed by a high probability of pupil compliance. If one dichotomizes teachers into those who have control and those who don't then one has situations in which pupils acquiesce and follow orders and those in which pupils do not. The dichotomy may be thought of as a continuum. Second, one may raise the question concerning compliance by the total class, various subportions of the class, and individual pupils. Further, one can subdivide according to situations ranging from the imperative of the fire alarm to chewing gum. Fourth, one may distinguish responses to direct commands by the teacher and responses mediated by an activity suggested or imposed by the teacher, e.g. does the child answer questions and carry out exercises in spelling as these were outlined and set in motion three weeks before. Finally, an array of antecedents and consequences of this multidimensional phenomenon can be investigated.

Mr. Geoffrey saw this problem clearly and in quite simple terms. He acted upon the conception in a manner which we have called "grooving the children." Specifically, during the first few days he gave literally dozens of orders, to individuals and to the total group, which involved a number of trivial items. For instance he handled the distribution of books by assigning each person a number, then calling out the numbers of the books from the storage cabinet and then having each child walk up and get this book. Later he modified this with "runners," children who distributed books to those children who raised their hands as he had instructed them. Second, he utilized the word "permission" over and over again. In the field notes the observer recorded, before 9:00 A.M. on the first morning, "Permission phrase appears and reappears." Interestingly, Geoffrey's comments occurred with situations requiring permission differentiated from those not requiring permission:

> "If you wish to leave the room to go downstairs, you must ask permission." And later, "For occasional borrowing, you don't need my permission."

Theoretically, we would argue that these interactions moved within the pupil group, toward a belief system, "The teacher gives directions and the pupils follow them." The immediate consequences of such a belief is the further belief that future order giving and following will occur in the same fashion. This eliminates questioning by the pupils and extended teacher explanations. It eliminates also rewards for compliance as well as punishments for non-compliance. This point is most important for our later discussion of bureaucratic vs. personal authority. A more long-term consequence to which we will turn our attention later revolves around the implications for critical and creative thinking which demand that one doubt and that one question before one acts.

Finally, the development of this belief system seemed to capitalize on several aspects: (1) the requests themselves were individually quite insignificant; (2) they dealt mostly with the domain of activities that teachers are expected to be involved; (3) they were asked of everyone; consequently, to refuse would be to cast oneself in a special light; (4) the situations were cloaked with individual attention, warmth, and humor; (5) they often involved activities such as getting up and moving about which was a pleasurable alternative after being seated for a period of time; and (6) many of the requests involved volunteering and special favorable attention. Some of these points are seen in the following episode:

> "Do I have any good pencil sharpeners?" Several boys raise their hands. He picks two who didn't pass out books. He directs them, "Out in the hall."

Beyond the development of the belief system as a relatively emotionless organization of cause-effect relationships, the association with conditions of positive emotion, it seems to us, moves toward what we call a classroom norm containing both beliefs and sentiments.

In short, classroom control may be viewed as an important aspect of classroom social structure. In this sense it becomes a goal for which the teacher strives. Our analysis has suggested that the teacher is faced with the problem of developing such a belief and normative system within the classroom. This time, however, the beliefs and norms center about his own role in the classroom. As we have analyzed our data we described an interactional sequence, "grooving the pupils" in which Geoffrey has given orders and obtained compliance in a variety of mundane and critical situations. As these cumulate they develop into belief systems--"this is the way it's done" and ultimately into normative systems, "this is the way it should be done" Achievement of this goal has a number of potentially positive and negative consequences for further long-term goals. Figure 2.4 contains our summary model.

Insert Figure 2.4 about here

I mean it: Second Steps in Establishing Belief Systems

Most of our examples, to this point, have emphasized clarity of presentation of those aspects of behavior which Geoffrey wanted built into the belief and normative system of the classroom. Beyond clarity, Geoffrey's behavior contained an "I mean it" quality which one might interpret as a threat or a statement of cause-effect relationship. Our interpretation suggests that the teacher's performance needs analysis

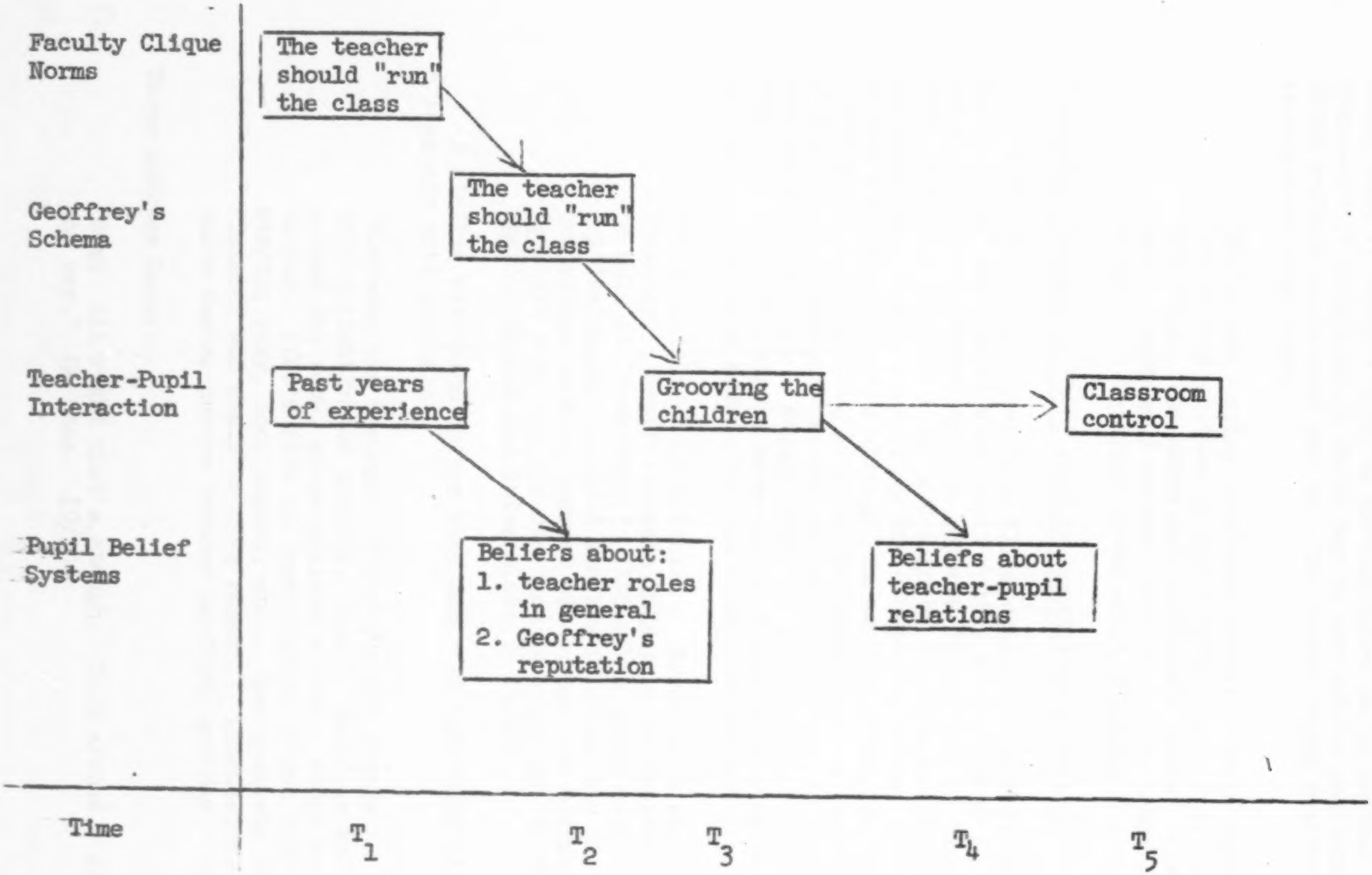

Faculty Clique Norms
Geoffrey's Schema
Teacher-Pupil Interaction
Pupil Belief Systems
The teacher should "run" the class
The teacher should "run" the class
Past years of experience
Grooving the children
Classroom control
Beliefs about:
1. teacher roles in general
2. Geoffrey's reputation
Beliefs about teacher-pupil relations
Time
T_1
T_2
T_3
T_4
T_5

Figure 2.4. A model for analysis of classroom control

for implications in establishing the social structure of the classroom, that is threats must be distinguished as to whether they suggest cause-effect consequences which may or may not be punishing and those which reflect punishment per se. The former seems evident in Geoffrey's interaction with Susan:

> "Who's been eating sunflower seeds?" Susan says yes. "Don't dine on them in the school room. I'll confiscate them. Who knows what confiscate means? (Keep them). Anytime I collect food you'll be lucky to see it again." Geoffrey moves about checking papers. (9/10)

Following Through: a third step in establishing beliefs

Although we have used this illustration in indicating the "correct work" belief associated with pupil roles, we find that it illustrates beautifully the connecting link between dimensions of teacher performance, things a teacher does, and a major consequence or function of his behavior, firmly supporting the developing belief system. What we are calling "following through" is another dimension of teacher performance. Its meaning lies in the complex of an earlier statement of intent, frequently a warning or test situation, as in the sunflower seed episode, and now a demand that the pupil behave in accord with the rule. In a way the simple behavior of Eileen's walking to the board carries considerable moment for the classroom system:

> Few questions about letters. Sarah asks about "trachery", Geoffrey sends Eileen up to correct and to make it "treachery." (LMS--This seems very critical also. Without fanfare Geoffrey has the erring one always back to correct his or her own mistakes. Implicit rule--if you don't do it right you'll do it again. Expand and interrelate.) (9/10)

A similar situation occurs with Sam. At approximately 11:25 during a language arts lesson:

> "How many are through? Those who are please wait patiently and quietly. Sam." Geoffrey walks around the room, gives Allison a look. Stops to talk to Sam. (Can't pick up conversation except some about staying busy, book report, etc.. Sam protests that he has finished and ready to give report.) Discussion--not quite banter occurs between Geoffrey and Sam. (9/10)

Three minutes later:

> "Sam! All right that's enough. Turn around. All the way." He does. (9/10)

Two minutes later Sam volunteers to go to the board and work a problem. Geoffrey lets him. Later, as we will see Geoffrey is not averse to putting further punitive teeth into his demands. The occasions for that kind of behavior are important for our analysis.

The Shift from Beliefs to Norms: softening the tone of classroom management

If our analysis is correct, that norms must be distinguished from beliefs, and that the distinction involves the incorporation of sentiment into the belief then we can talk about "acceptance of belief" as equivalent to the concept of norms. Part of the teacher's task is not only to have the pupils know what they "should" do but to be "willing" to do it. In Geoffrey's class, humor, seemed to be a major dimension of his performance which carried these implications. Late one afternoon, he received a memorandum from the office regarding some insurance forms to be taken home. In the course of the discussion the following notes were made:

> "Let me have your attention. I have some material for you." Raises accident insurance materials. Indicates parents are to make decisions about materials and not the kids. "Don't mutilate. Stop work and listen. Know what I have done on occasions with someone who wouldn't stop working? Don't guess. Ask someone who knows me." Goes through insurance form carefully. (9/10)

A similar illustration, which we have used already also, applies to "softening the tone of classroom management". As such it indicates Geoffrey's concern for establishing not only a belief but a norm as well. Many times, he seemed to feel the need to make clear rules and regulations. He often did this dramatically. Usually however, when his point was made he softened the criticism and maintained the task oriented quality of the group through drama, humor and incidental learning. The records are replete with illustrations of this sort:

> "Who's been eating sunflower seeds?" (The shells are scattered on the floor). Sandra says she has. "Don't dine on them in the school room or I'll confiscate them. Who knows what confiscate means?" Someone says, "Keep them."

Mr. Geoffrey finishes the episode:

> "Anytime I collect food you'll be lucky to see it again." He moves about checking papers. (9/10)

In our framework a belief is a generalized perception of what exists, while a norm is a generalized or group expectation of what ought to exist. As Geoffrey made the class rules clear he was dealing with belief systems as he tried to build an emotional commitment on the part of the children to these beliefs he was engaged in the more complex task of shaping normative structure.

A concluding illustration

Early on the morning of September 12th, Geoffrey engages in the beginning-of-the-day chores and a spelling test. During these activities, he has almost withdrawn his attention from the norms surrounding monitorial roles and he is artfully clarifying and softening the establishment of beliefs about gum chewing:

> 8:38 Come in after yard duty. Big "Hello, Mr. S." from Sandy. Geoffrey in banter over shop schedule, "Jump up and down and click my heels." Comment about somebody not doing their jobs brings all the monitors (paper, chalk, date,) into action. Corrects schedule.(Attendance: everyone but Lonny.) Some geography.
>
> 8:45 After paper is passed and pencils are sharpened, starts with "Name at top; number from one to ten. . . ." Raised questions with Dick, "Are you going to make that your permanent seat?" "Yes, sir." Starts spelling test (pop test?). No. 1, Handsome. "You are lucky to have such a handsome teacher?" Geoffrey grins, everyone smiles. . . . No. 2, Warehouse. The Hawaiian Co. stores sugar in the warehouse across the street. Warehouse. No. 3, Coconut. No. 4, Gentlemen.
>
> 8:48 Messenger.
>
> "I don't have any gum chewers in here?" **Sarah** says, "No, wax. . . ." Everyone smiles. He generalizes rule to wax, paper clips, paper and tar.
>
> (Continues through list with humor, local items, maxims of behavior).
>
> 5. Iceberg
> 6. Throughout--study throughout day
> 7. Midnight--no-one up after midnight
> 8. Backward--"there is not a backward student in this room."
> 9. However--"however, there are some students who don't work as hard as they should."
> 10. Therefore--"I shall do my best to see that all of you work as hard as you can." (9/12)

The Subgroup Interaction Structure

The social structure of the classroom contains not only a variety of roles and belief systems as we have defined and developed these concepts, but also a series of subgroups. A subgroup refers to two or more individuals from the total who interact more frequently with each other than with the total group. Clique is a synonym. A dyad is a two person subgroup. An isolate is a person who belongs to no subgroup. In the classroom at the Washington School a part of the early structure was a group of girls we have labelled as "Sandy's clique". The central figures include Sandy, Molly and Eileen. Peripheral but yet a part of the group are Thelma, Patty and Rose.[5] Interaction patterns other than this tended to be dyadic and isolated: Susan and Elma, Pete and Billy, Allison and Helen (in spite of her recent arrival), Sam and Oliver, Edwin and Jimmie. The latter two dyads sometimes flowed together and occasionally Davey and Dick joined with them. The isolates tended to be Kent, Ben, Lonny, Irma, Peggy and Dick.

A number of significant generalizations seem warranted in discussing "subgroup interaction structure." First, the sources of the structure seem to lie outside the teacher's direct influence. Sandy's clique and a number of the dyads were present from the beginning of school. Presumably these were friendships from past years. Second, the phenomenon immediately strikes the observer for there are children who seem to be together constantly. Third, the high frequency of interaction "spills over" into a variety of other group phenomena, e.g. they share sentiments, beliefs, and norms. In a sense, the dyads and the cliques are much closer to the latent meaning of a "real" group than is the classroom for a freedom to join or not, to be accepted or not, seems to lie within the members rather than in a coercing institution. Fourth, in these interactions one sees a good deal of positive expressive behavior which does not appear in other parts of the classroom functioning. Fifth, when one influences one of the members one has indirectly influenced all of the others. Sixth, when dealing with difficult academic problems involving frustration and failure (below criterion responses as in arithmetic, page four, problem 1C), the teacher could keep the group on the problem, emitting responses until the correct one appeared and was reinforced, and interpret in a way seemingly satisfying to all that "it's embarrassing but. . . ." The assumption seems to be one of justice--since all my friends are suffering, I can tolerate it too. Presumably, isolated individuals would not produce the same reaction when called upon.

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[5] Later we will develop the changes in this group as children moved from the school.

Sandy's clique: an illustration

On the first day as our seating chart noted, a group of children, most of whom had come from Mr. Alton's class, seated themselves in close proximity. (See Figure 2.5). This group of girls we have called "Sandy's clique" for she was the most outspoken member in interaction with Mr. Geoffrey. (Later observations suggested that Eileen and Molly were the closest friends and had the highest rank. Sandy, however, was the member with high social visibility.

Insert Figure 2.5 about here

Both the early development of the clique and its early visibility to the observer are suggested for on Monday morning, the ninth of September, the notes indicate, "Clique of girls come in together." The behavior and/or the observer's perception of it had stabilized.

After some two weeks of the semester, the observer taped brief summary statements about each of the children. The instructions he gave himself were these:

> Now, after two weeks of school, it seems appropriate to comment on the classroom from the point of reference of individual children in the classroom. I will try to give brief thumbnail sketches of each of the children as I have seen them from the corner of the room. I will do this by going around the room in the original seating chart that Geoffrey had for the classroom and, in effect, try to catch the flavor of the first set of permanent geographical positions. As I think about it at this moment, the points of reference probably will be the individual's relationship to Geoffrey, and the individual's position in the group. This latter point refers to the developing idea of the social roles of pupils in a group and might help to clarify the ultimate status of that point of view. (Friday, 9/20)

The early comments on the half dozen children who became the clique are these:

> In the first row, first column of the classroom is Thelma. She is reasonably cute, attractive, wears glasses. Not noticeably different in any physical characteristics. Slight build, medium height, etc. In the first seating chart she was full-fledged member of the clique of girls centering around Sandy who was geographically located a little more centrally. Only recently, since the move

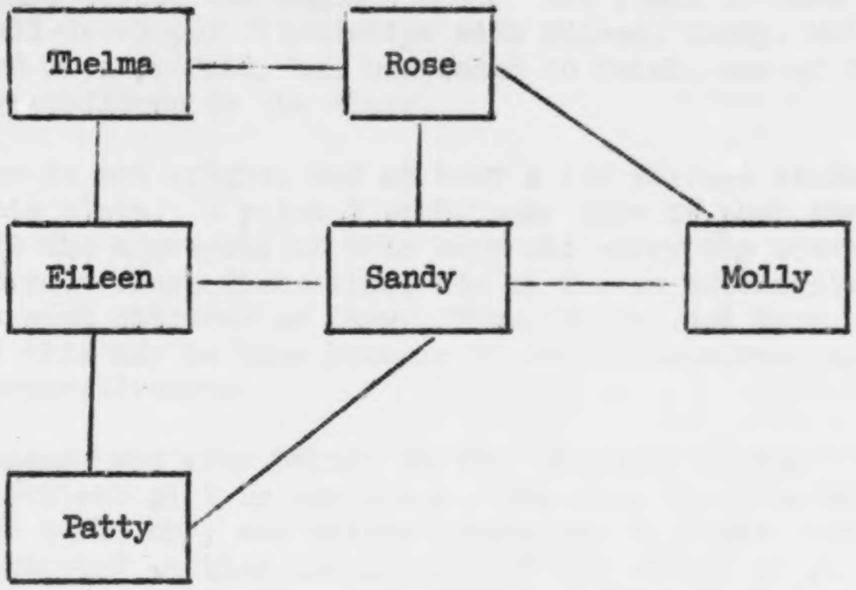
Thelma
Rose
Eileen
Sandy
Molly
Patty

Figure 2.5. Seating arrangements of Sandy's clique.

of Oliver next to her has she interacted with any frequency at all with the boys in the classroom. She and Geoffrey seem to have a very good working relationship: she volunteers for academic as well as non-academic matters, he often will chide her, for instance, about not speaking loudly enough, and on one occasion told her that she would have to stand in front of the room and present her answers if she didn't speak more loudly. On one occasion later he reminded her of this fact. To this kind of chiding she reacts quite shyly and bashfully in a sweet sort of way. She has lived in the community since before she began school. She seems to have stable well-developed friendships with Eileen, Sandy, Molly, and more recently has responded to Helen, one of the new children in the class.

She is not bright, and at best a low average student in this class. A point I would make here is that she does not fit the aggregate of able boys who carry the brunt of the correct class discussion, nor is she so hopelessly inept as such children as Peggy, Elma, Billy, and Rose. Some of this may be bias because of her pleasantness and cooperativeness.

Eileen, who sits behind Thelma, probably is the prettiest girl in the class. She also is quite demure and quite shy; she seldom speaks out in class. As mentioned earlier she is part of the clique of girls, she seems well accepted by them, and I have had very little personal contact with her; in contrast say to Thelma, who has talked with me on several occasions. Geoffrey's reaction to Eileen seems to be that she is "just another pupil in the class." This is my evaluation of his behavior and not his own statement, and it is intended to carry no negative implications at all for either him or Eileen. She too has considerable difficulty with schoolwork. She doesn't seem particularly interested in school. I have no clue at this point as to what kinds of satisfactions she does find.

The third girl in the row is Patty. She is short, quiet, attractive, but almost a nonentity in the classroom. She seems to belong to no clique in the group,[6] she takes very little part in volunteering, in recitation, and she has a sister in the classroom who also is quite quiet and unobtrusive. Her behavior is not apathetic in the usual sense of anomie, but is much more a non-assertiveness.

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[6] When he first went back to the Field Notes the observer was surprised to find this statement, for later in the semester Patty was heavily involved.

Rose is another of the quiet unobtrusive children in the classroom. It was several days before I realized that she had a sister, Patty, in the class also. She is short, as is Patty, but she is considerably overweight. She, along with Allison, are the two cases of obesity in the classroom. The sources of this problem are not clear. I have not had a chance to talk with Geoffrey about it. Actually she performs as a very, very dull student; seldom is Geoffrey ever able to obtain a deductive answer from her. She seldom volunteers in class and she never enters into the byplay and banter that is so generally common in his approach to the classroom. She goes to the board and is in the around-the-room recitation. She usually has difficulty with language and with arithmetic. I don't recall having heard her read.

Sandy is one of the most difficult girls in the group to describe. She is at the center of the clique of Thelma, Molly, and Eileen. She is one of the few girls in the class who is actively boy crazy. This became particularly evident as she was moved during the wholesale seat change. She is cute, flirtatious, pouty. In Nabokov's terminology she is in the late nymphet stage. She, along with Sam, are the two central focuses of classroom interaction with Geoffrey. Academically she is not a strong student. It is sometimes very difficult to tell though. Her general mode of response clouds all of her specific adequacies and inadequacies. As to academic questions, she has a kind of a "Who, me?" response, and "How am I supposed to know something like that?" response. (Monday, 9/23)

Molly is a striking contrast to Irma .[7] While basically quite a quiet girl, she seems to be one of the members in good standing in the Sandy-Thelma clique. More recently, as the desks have been moved, she has developed a very friendly relationship with Sam and Susan. She strikes the observer as basically quite an optimistic person, seems to enjoy much of what she is doing, and seems to be operating relatively free from tension, anxiety, or emotion. Among this clique of girls, she interacts much less frequently with Geoffrey than do the others. She does not appear

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[7] See the summary comments concerning Irma as they have been recorded in Chapter Four.

> to be a strong student, although it's very difficult for me to pinpoint her academic behavior at this time. As the semester wears on, I see a picture of more and more importance within the social structure of the classroom. This may partly be a function of my observational opportunities because she is a bit nearer to me than she was before, and may also be partly a function of the fact that she is sitting next to Sam who is in the center of everything. Physically, she bears a striking resemblance to Jackie Kennedy. I have not heard any of the kids comment about this, however. As I make this report I am more and more struck by the fact that until this moment, I have not seen her in this light. Part of this may be due to the fact that she does not have the coquettishness of some of the other girls such as Sandy or Thelma. She needs more careful analysis. (9/24)

The evidence that subgroups play a special part in classroom functioning is scattered through our records. The notes on Monday emphasize the helping relationship in arithmetic.

> Elma, looks for help from Sarah's paper. Molly turns around for help. Elma checks Peggy's paper. Helen, Allison, and Edwin check each other out. Pete queries Billy. Sandy, Eileen, Thelma, Rose and Molly. Mr. Geoffrey looks over records. Quizzes Kent about his library books from last year (Mr. Alton's room). (9/9)

In general, the individuals from whom one seeks help are class members with whom one has a closer relationship. The clique and dyads fulfill this.

The behavior in class flows out on to the playground and back into class. The notes catch the observer's growing interaction:

> Today while I was on yard duty, before school, at morning recess, and at noon, a number of the children came up to Geoffrey and to me, both together and independently, just to be around and to tell us all their "tales of woe." Sandy's clique is so vibrant, and all of them are so pert and coquettish, that they are amazing to watch. Several of them, Sandy, Molly, and Eileen particularly during the lunch hour, would hang over the fence and call to the boys from Adams School who were coming up for Industrial Arts. The boys would comment back and there would be a brief tete a tete to the mutual satisfaction of all the participants. They would then go into long stories as to how the boys were bothering them and the fact that these boys were nicer looking than the boys from the Washington School. The girls asked me what I thought of rock and roll and what I thought of Elvis Presley and innumerable other similar items. (9/26)

At one point the children worked on a geography problem concerning map making. The task involved drawing a floor plan of the classroom and school. The observer used this as an opportunity to move about the class and visit with the children.

> In class during the geography period I walked around the room talking with the children and looking at the drawings that they were making of the school building. They responded by-and-large uniformly positively to my presence and interest. Pete and Billy were particularly pleased because I gave them some help in figuring out their problem, which incidentally, they both executed very neatly. Much better than you would expect from either one of them alone, much less the two of them together. Elma, Peggy and Susan continually giggled whenever I came by, neither of the latter two did much on their drawing, presumably because neither one of them knew very much about how to do it, and also because Elma wouldn't let them. Sam and Oliver goofed around and from time to time would make remarks to me about how it was going and whose part looked the best. Molly, Patty, and Helen got into all kinds of problems as they had the school upside down. Part of them had the school rightside up and part of them had the school upside down. We talked about it briefly and they started to erase and make changes that would make it more sensible. I am not sure how much good I did them there. In the Eileen, Sandy, and Thelma group, Eileen seemed to be doing most of the work and responded quite positively to my being around. She seems to have gotten over her shyness about me, and she acts more and more like Sandy all the time. She was one of the more forward of the forward out on the playground. (9/20)

Summary

Analytically we have defined clique (synonymous with subgroup) as two or more individuals, but less than the total from a group, who interact more frequently with each other than with the total group. While this phenomenon is another obvious distinction, it, too, has important consequences. For instance, it will develop structure and dynamics of its own, which means there will be an integrated network of norms, beliefs, activities, sentiments, etc., which will become important influences controlling the behavior of the individual member. From the teacher's position, the clique can provide motivation and reason for the individual child's attention to academic tasks and also a mode of organization for carrying out the necessary tasks. Further, in accenting a criterion other than pupil learning, it provides important benefits in teacher satisfaction in his profession. We have tried to sketch these relationships in Figure 2.6.

Insert Figure 2.6 about here

A Special Dyad: Elma and Susan

For several reasons we will comment on the Elma-Susan dyad: they remained in the class all semester, they represent two of the local Negro children and hence a point of contact with the larger group of transported children, and they present special problems to Mr. Geoffrey. Toward the end of September the observer made these summary comments regarding the girls:

> Susan is one of the two Negro children in the classroom. She is very quiet and seldom volunteers. When she does respond to a question, it is usually in such a low, soft voice that it is impossible for me to hear it. Academically her work is very poor. I guess that it would be below the level of Sandy's clique. Physically she presents a very striking picture. She is in the middle of adolescent development, yet she still wears what I would call "little girl" dresses. She is very dark in complexion. She gives a picture of a Negro girl just off the plantation or out of the cotton field. I have no idea how long she has lived in Big City or what her immediate background is. Only on a few occasions have I seen any animated activity on her part. This usually occurs in the line when the kids are getting ready to go outside for lunch or recess. On these occasions she will sometimes josh with Elma and will speak out in a fairly loud voice, with strong components of southern dialect. I recently noted she has responded a time or two to Sam and his buffoonery. (9/23)
>
> Elma is the other Negro child in the classroom. She is a much more difficult child to work with in the classroom than most of the other girls for she combines serious low ability and low achievement with considerable hostility. She has little of what might be called respect for or responsiveness to authority. Scuttlebutt among the teachers reveals a past history of problem behavior in the school. Miss Norton commented on one occasion when a substitute was in a fourth grade room, Elma heightened the process of driving her out. She lay on the desk in the room, cursing and screaming wildly (and quite wildly according to Miss Norton) so that the noise was heard all over that part of the building. Miss Norton and another teacher with considerable hesitation--and the hesitation seemed to be due to the

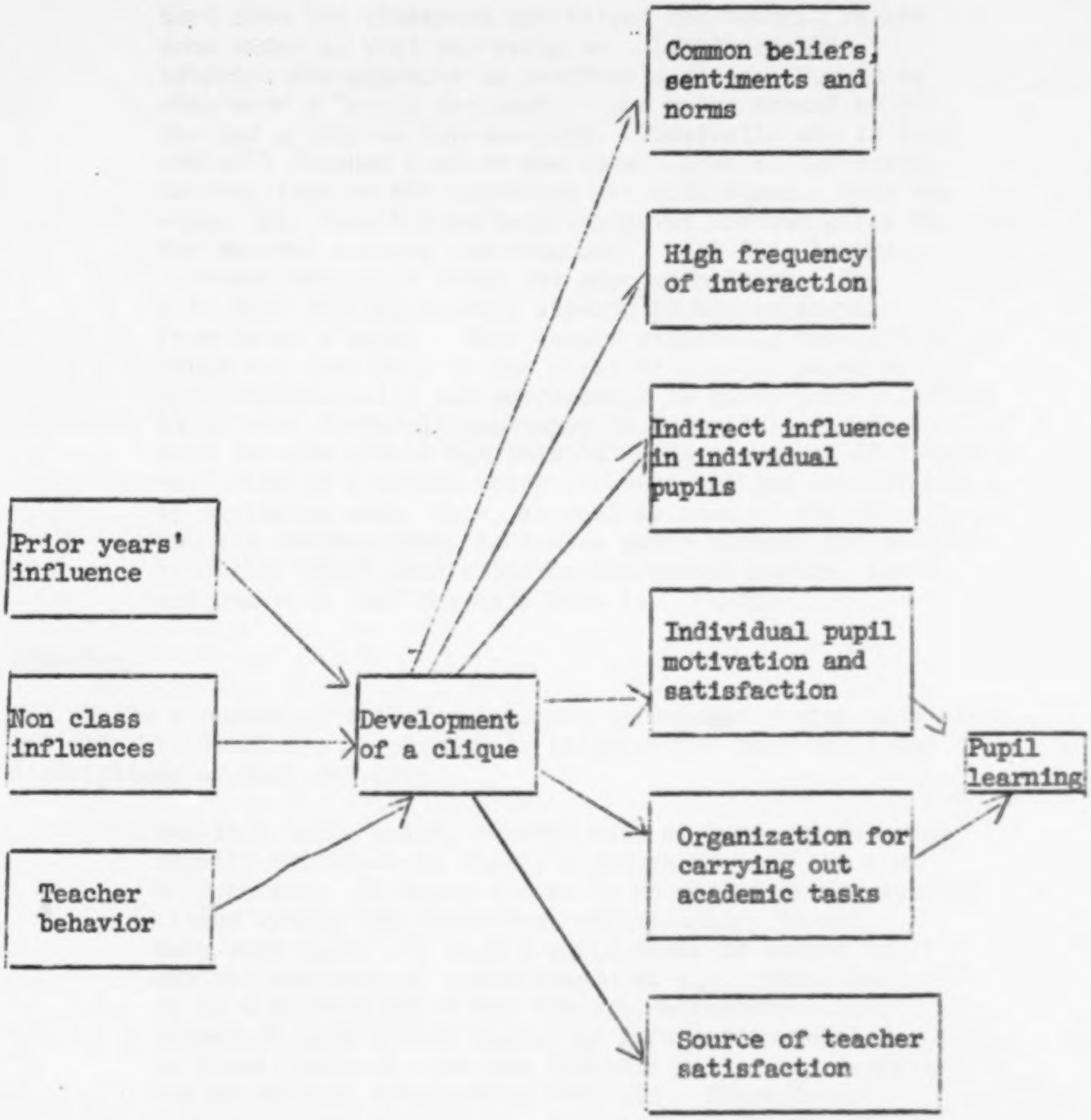
Prior years' influence
Non class influences
Teacher behavior
Development of a clique
Common beliefs, sentiments and norms
High frequency of interaction
Indirect influence in individual pupils
Individual pupil motivation and satisfaction
Organization for carrying out academic tasks
Source of teacher satisfaction
Pupil learning

Figure 2.6. Antecedents and consequences of Sandy's clique.

> fact that you don't invade another teacher's room--went into the classroom and helped the teacher regain some order in what was going on. Little of this behavior has appeared in Geoffrey's class. Now it is much more a "surly defiance." She walks around as if she had a chip on her shoulder. Physically she is tall and well dressed most of the time. Most of her social interactions in the classroom are with Susan. This was especially true before Geoffrey moved the two girls in the general seating rearrangement. She did, however, interact some with Sarah and some with Peggy. She also felt at considerable liberty to borrow answers from Sarah's paper. This seemed especially true after Sarah had done well on the first arithmetic paper or two. Academically her performance is quite poor, although it is very difficult sometimes to accurately judge this for she always has this "I'll do it maybe, if I want to," kind of attitude which prevents telling whether she is trying or not. This, as well as some of the other summary observations, indicates quite clearly the need to obtain first hand notes on the actual papers, tests, and homework that the kids turn in. (9/23)

Isolates

While a number of children interact infrequently with each other and with Mr. Geoffrey, we present as illustration only the brief descriptions of Kent and Ben:

> Ben is a tall, quiet, awkward kind of boy. On occasion he will volunteer in class, although most of the time he does not. He doesn't seem to be a part of any special clique within the classroom; occasionally, he will talk with Kent. It wasn't until today he seemed to exhibit any kind of intelligence at all. This came up in a discussion of the concept, monastery. He seemed to have a fair amount of information related to monks, priests, and the Catholic religion. Geoffrey has no special interaction with him. There is no banter between him and Ben or occasions for discipline. While I don't have access to Geoffrey's gradebook, my guess is that he gets a fair percentage of his homework in. Only on the regular, around the room recitations does one get any impression of Ben's classroom and academic ability. In the ability to identify subjects and verbs in sentences, he's not strong. He has little facility with arithmetic processes. The nature of his reading skills is not clear, I would guess that he reads haltingly.

> Kent presents a picture very similar to Ben in class. He takes very little part in the ongoing classroom interplay and banter. Occasionally he and Ben seem to buddy-up as I indicated above. Once or twice on the playground I've seen him a little bit more active, but the basic impression I have of him is that while he is not as tall and gangly as **Ben,** he is also awkward and seems to have an extra short torso. In class he works along quietly and is not engaged in any kind of disciplinary problem as far as I can recall. He, like Ben and several others, is just there.

A Reject

In some discussions of classroom social structure a sentiment hierarchy, a social rank ranging from high acceptance through neutrality to rejection is postulated. Mr. Geoffrey's class seemed more describable in terms of belief systems, roles and interactive subgroups and cliques. As we have noted, some of the children interacted infrequently with Geoffrey and infrequently with the other children; we categorized them as isolates. Several children, and especially Irma, showed high interaction rates with Geoffrey, individually and in class participation, but minimal amounts with the other children. However, the negative sentiment of the class members toward her, which we have called rejection, is the critical aspect of her part of the social structure. The summary statement in the notes contains several observations and interpretations:

> Irma strikes the observer as a vivid example of a pre-neurotic individual. While she is not an intellectually dull child, at least in reference to this group, there are areas of her behavior which reflect what Dollard and Miller have commented upon as "pockets of stupidity." The best illustration of this is the Field Notes record of Irma's inability to accept the fact that Canada and Mexico are not part of the United States.[8] She also illustrates the very real and acute problem of a child "earning" her reputation and her social status. The kids view her as kind of an "odd ball." For instance, Oliver's comments, both verbally and metaphorically, indicating that she was different or "nuts." And her social status, indicated by the

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[8] This episode was a dramatic several-day encounter in which Geoffrey, the observer, and several of the children were involved in attempts to convince her that Canada and Mexico were not a part of the United States.

> fact that few of the children interact much with her and most of them systematically either avoid her or "talk right past her." The best illustration of the latter is Oliver and Pete carrying on a conversation right in front of her. She sits between them, and neither one of them knows that she is alive. Her relationship with Geoffrey is that of close to complete and utter dependence. As a seventh grade girl this is very noticeable; she is always up front, asking him "some stupid question". In Geoffrey's words she "drives him batty". I keep wanting to posit an anxiety and conflict hypothesis underlying much of her behavior. Academically her performance on many aspects of the school program is quite good for this class. She often will score well on the spelling tests and on the daily board work. (9/24)

In Figure 2.7 we try to view more generically the viscious circle problem which seems to be a special case of the self-fulfilling prophecy: a child has a particular reputation; she acts and interacts in accord with it; and she thereby corroborates the impression. The process locks her in place in the social equilibrium or structure. In her case, it seems critical to note, to hypothesize, what seems to be a series of personality processes that are "beyond her control" or "neurotically stupid" which indicates a real inability to alter her behavior in socially significant ways. As we observed--and interacted with her--this didn't seem to be a simple perceptual difficulty nor a conceptual problem for she was quite able intellectually for this group.

Insert Figure 2.7 about here

Conclusion: Changing Seating Arrangements

Whenever a social system changes--or is changed--much of the structure and dynamics becomes clear. In this instance the Field Notes from the day Geoffrey changed the seating arrangement summarize some aspects of the initial equilibrium that had been achieved. We cite the summary observations and interpretations in some detail to conclude the analysis.

> Yesterday Geoffrey moved the children's seats for the first time since the first day. This fifteen or twenty minute interlude, before the history sparkled with fun. The banter and rapport made it difficult to stay in the role of observer. I found myself a vicarious participant. While the students were doing the beginnings of the homework assignment, Geoffrey

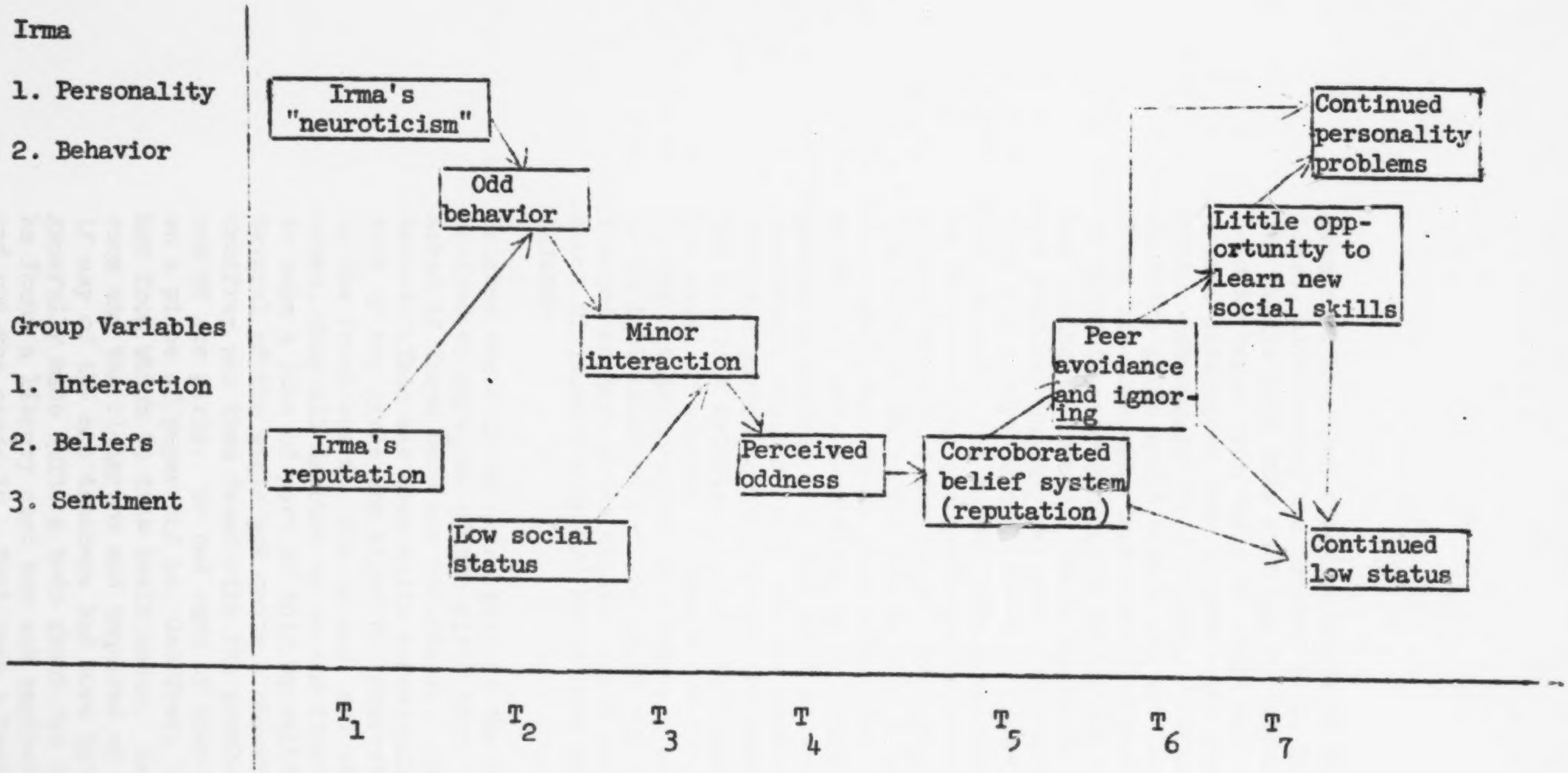
Irma
1. Personality
2. Behavior
Group Variables
1. Interaction
2. Beliefs
3. Sentiment
Irma's "neuroticism"
Odd behavior
Irma's reputation
Minor interaction
Low social status
Perceived oddness
Corroborated belief system (reputation)
Peer avoidance and ignoring
Little opportunity to learn new social skills
Continued personality problems
Continued low status
T_1
T_2
T_3
T_4
T_5
T_6
T_7

Figure 2.7. A process conception of Irma being caught in a viscious circle and "earning" her status.

drew a five-column five-row chart on the front board, alternating the letters B, G, B, G, etc.. The pupils soon knew what was to happen. The buzzing began from child to child and seat to seat. Groans intermixed with laughter and physical movement. Sam engaged in a running commentary indicating that the girls would bother him and keep him from doing his homework, that Edwin wouldn't have anybody to help him, and generally indicating how his world was coming to an end. Sarah inquired, "Do I have to?", and Geoffrey quietly replied, "No you don't; in my room you always have a choice." "You can do it or you can leave the room." She moved on over. It might be observed that she gradually is becoming a full-fledged member of the group. She transferred into the district this fall and is slowly being acclimated or socialized. Up to this point, her only major contributions have been first as an excellent student, generally the one with the right answers, and an assignment monitor. Only at one other time has she bantered person-to-person with Geoffrey. I can't recall the specific details. She may have been involved in loaning her paper to someone to permit him to copy the answers. To the outside observer her comments made her stand out as an individual in her own right who was now a full-fledged member of the class. Edwin was quite unhappy about his move for he and Helen have become quite fast friends.

Because there is an extra girl in the room, Geoffrey decided to have one of the girls next to his desk. He asked if there were any volunteers. All the girls volunteered. This was done quite drmatically by initially asking each of the girls who might be interested to write her name on the front board. One by one, and with considerable drama, they all marched up to the front. Dick started to make a joke of part of this by walking up also. Several of the girls got quite a chuckle out of it. Geoffrey was then faced with the problem of how to pick one of the girls. He had each of them write their names on a piece of paper and he, Geoffrey, began to look for a hat from which to draw their names. He prowled around the room and the cloakroom and inquired of any of the children, if any of the men teachers had worn hats today. He generally made quite a todo about the incident. Finally he found a library card box and emptied the library cards and put the names in. Next came a basic decision as to who would pull the name out of the box. Many kids were vying for this honor. As this was developing, Sandy, in a loud and clear voice, suggested, "Let Mr. Smith do it." Her suggestion proved to be eminently satisfactory with all in the class. Geoffrey brought the box around to my side of the room and with a chuckle in his voice he commented in an undertone, "If you draw Irma I'll shoot you." With as much TV show drama as I could muster I read off "Patty". She was quite pleased. The history lesson began shortly after this. Oliver volunteered and was elected to write in the names in the checkerboard on the front board. This he did with a flourish. Flourish in the sense of creating a mild disturbance through most of it. He had difficulty spelling some of the names. Thelma, who remained seated up in the front of the room, would whisper help to him, accompanied by an occasional comment by Geoffrey that if Oliver couldn't do it we would get someone who could do it; Thelma wasn't supposed to be helping him. Unfortunately I was not in the room during the afternoon to catch the initial by-play concerning the change. This should be filled in later by conversational notes, from Geoffrey,

I did have a few moments to talk with Geoffrey during lunch about the shift in the room. This shift had come as a surprise to me, although I had a good idea that one was coming sometime in the next week or so. Apparently the level and quantity of interaction helped precipitate the move at this particular time. Pete and Billy were beginning to talk together too much. Billy seemed to be catching some of Pete's "no need to do any kind of work" attitude and point of view. Billy is a "good kid" even though quite a dull boy. Edwin and Helen are more interested in each other than they were in their outside reading and book reports and other lessons. Sam and Oliver and Jimmie also were becoming quite comfortable with each other. Sandy's clique of Thelma, Eileen, Molly, are constantly interchanging glances, sighs, answers and nods. Allison also was in the middle of things with Edwin and Helen. The change is not permanent for Geoffrey commented,"As some of you who know me realize, this isn't forever or for even a semester, only for a while. For you who want to get changed back, the best way to bring that about is to quietly do your own work and show me that I can trust you." (9/18)

The Structure of Activities

In the beginning of school the teacher has many problems. From the organization's perspective the key directive for the teacher concerns the establishment of the activity structure. As we have understood sociologists such as Homans (1950), an important part of the social structure of a group is the activity of the group, the transactions of the group with the physical facilities and environment. In the classroom, and Geoffrey's class is no exception, it is the "work" to be done. A major and often neglected part of classroom social system analysis is the structure of activities. Activity is one of our basic dimensions. As we watched Mr. Geoffrey's class, we found that the children did a "variety of things" and this variety had special patterns to it. In the words of the teachers and the children they studied a number of subjects. This simple taxonomy of the curricular areas, reading, writing, arithmetic and so forth, represents the public schools' attempt to order the "structure of knowledge" which has been accumulated in Western Civilization and to which the growing child must be socialized. In Big City, the school says there are eight of these areas for the seventh grade teacher and their varying importance requires a set distribution of time.

The organization's official form for activity structure is the "teacher's program". Directions are quite explicit for each of the three parts of the form. In Part A the teacher is instructed to:

> Give the curricular area or subject studied in each period. Show your full school day including recess.[9]

The several columns require the teacher, as we have indicated in Figure 2.8 to indicate time of day, length of period, and subject taught each day of the week.

Insert Figure 2.8 about here

In Part B, the directions read:

> Summarize under the proper area the approximate number of minutes per week devoted to each area as shown in Part A of the program. Total each curricular area.

Geoffrey did this. The areas include fine arts, composed of music and art, language arts which includes reading, language, spelling and writing, mathematics, social studies, science, physical well-being (including recess and physical education), practical arts (not given in the Fall in the seventh grade) and organization. The latter are those minutes at the beginning of each day in the morning and just after recess and lunch when "chores" are to be done.

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[9] These quotes and the following are from the official record forms used by Geoffrey.

Time of Day	Length of Period	M	T	W	T	F
8:30-8:35	5	Organization				
8:35-9:30	55	Reading				Language
9:30-10:15	45	Gym	Science	Gym	Science	Social St.
10:15-10:30	15	Recess				
10:30-10:35	5	Organization				
10:35-11:15	40	Language				
11:15-12:00	45	Social Studies				
1:00-1:05	5	Organization				
1:05-2:00	55	Arithmetic				
2:00-2:30	30	Spelling and Writing				
2:30-3:30	60	Music	Art	Music	Art	Health

Figure 2.8. Copy of Mr. Geoffrey's teaching program as filed in the permanent records.

The final part of the form, Part C, operates by implication and assumption. Its directions are:

> Copy the time allotment for each area from the Superintendent's Circular or from the Handbook for Beginning Teachers and Substitutes.

Geoffrey did this. The form included: fine arts, 180, (minutes), language arts, 520, mathematics, 240, social studies, 300, science, 90, physical well-being, 260, practical arts, 110, and organization, 100.

Interpretively we are saying several things at this point. First, a major part of classroom structure has its origins in the organization's primary purpose--fostering academic learning. Second, some degree of goal displacement occurs with the accent on the time allotments teachers spend in each category of activities. The system does test, at regular intervals, the achievement of pupils but these results are "confounded" by pupil abilities and social class factors which vary significantly across the city. Third, the implication exists in Part C. that the teacher's program should be similar to the time allotments in the Superintendent's Circular. Fourth, the actual time of various activities varied markedly from the program as filed. For the moment, we would note that the pupils seldom were in the class before 8:37 in the morning and it was almost always 8:45 or later before attendance and lunch money collections had been completed. Also as we indicate further organizational problems arose all semester. Later we will examine in considerably more detail variations which exist in the heavy 3 R's orientation, especially in language arts which goes far beyond the stated time allotments. Fifth, the teacher has freedom to arrange these areas into the day and the week as he desires. It should be noted that his options do not include the time of the year--in the sense of doing the year's work in arithmetic in the Fall and all the language arts in the Spring. Similarly, limits exist in the degree to which the pupils have a voice in what activities are to be studied. Sixth, within the activity a large number of options exist in the sequence one might use in the presentation or the discovering the accumulated knowledge. In the Washington School generally and in Mr. Geoffrey's case in particular, this part of the sequence was determined by the authors of the texts. In effect, Mr. Geoffrey and the children moved through the texts page by page and usually problem by problem. Presumably this is one set of meanings to such phrases as "text book oriented curriculum," "systematic teaching," "traditional teaching," and so forth. Insofar as the text author's clearly see their domain this puts meaning into the activities. Insofar as one follows regularly through the text this puts a procedural clarity into the activities. Pupils know what to expect. Most teachers at the Washington School believe that this is especially important for children with limited ability, with limited auxillary skills (e.g. use of reference materials and related reading techniques) with limited motivation, and with limited self control, all of which are alleged to be part of the syndrome of cultural deprivation. These implications are sketched in Figure 2.9.

Insert Figure 2.9 about here

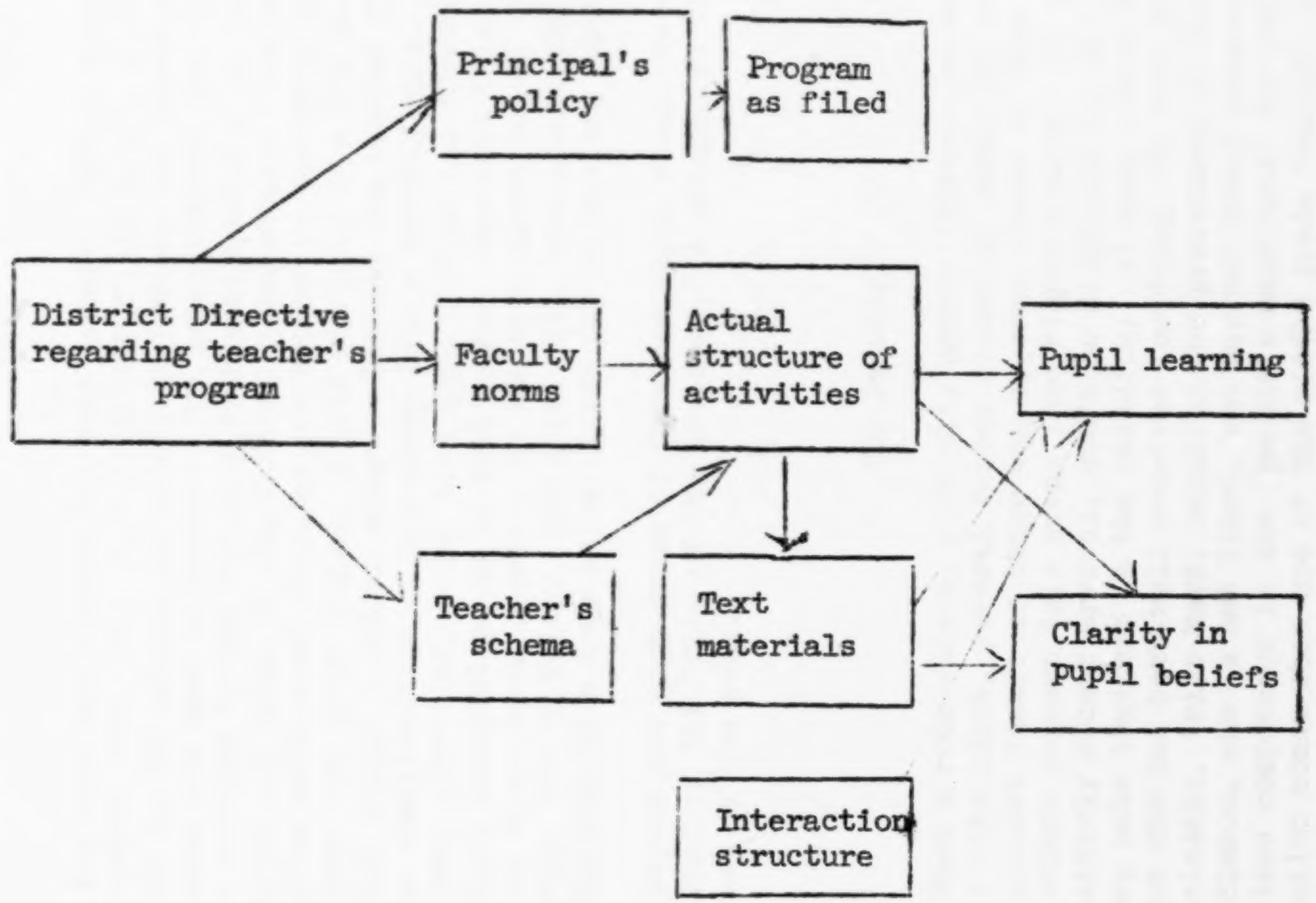
Principal's policy
Program as filed
District Directive regarding teacher's program
Faculty norms
Actual structure of activities
Pupil learning
Teacher's schema
Text materials
Clarity in pupil beliefs
Interaction structure

Figure 2.10. A tentative model of the place of activity structure in the school.

Chapter Three

The Flow of the Semester

Big City has a beautiful Fall season. Indian summer, those deliciously warm, mild days after the first frost, provide for the esthete as well as the sensual an interlude between the humidity of summer and the slush and snow of winter. The urban teacher misses most of this for he is confined to the building from early morning to late afternoon. The brick and metal of the factories, warehouses, and tenements and the noise and exhaust of buses and trucks in the early morning, in the noon hour and after school, shield him also from the pastoral quality of other people's Indian summer. Usually the teacher finds satisfaction in the stabilization of his group into a working unit. Expectations have been clarified, roles have been settled and movement toward generally accepted goals is well begun. Downtown this is true also, even if to a lesser degree. At the Washington School these days end abruptly, for on Friday, September 27th, the school shudders with the consequences of a room being closed due to falling enrollment.

Beyond the high drama of this one major event, we sketch briefly in this chapter the "flow of the semester," a glimpse at the narrative of the rest of the year.

The Faculty

When a room closes, a faculty member leaves. As we watched the events take place, several forces seemed at work: 1) seniority -- the ever present tenure of those who by some stroke of fate arrived earlier than others convert this event into righteousness; 2) sex -- Mr. Gennep, a relatively recent arrival, won't be displaced for Mr. Willower wants to keep male teachers in the building; 3) rank --Miss Roberts, a new teacher who has been well received for doing "a very good job." She is enthusiastic, tries hard, supports the procedures of the dominant clique. Miss Simeon, who is not liked, who has had brief tenure, and who is alleged to have less competence is the "people's candidate" for removal. The final resolution comes when one of the middle grade teachers agrees to a transfer to the East side of the city which is closer to her home.

The observer's notes on Friday morning carries references of "considerable discussion about the transfer problem." Crises make people more verbal -- at least to their close friends.

> Norton and Eagle went over the list of kids that Geoffrey gets from Gennep. Eagle full of pithy descriptions "That's a Jones." (In a prior conversation, she had told me about this family. All of them were in a continuous trouble; when asked

> "Why?", they would reply "I'm a Jones"). She went on, "That's a dull one. This one will try. Whis one will try you. This one has got half a brain. This one never comes," and so on. (9/27)

The notes contain several statements Gennep made about the children. The first was early in the semester, September 13th, before any serious discussion of the room closing occurred.

> 8:00 Mr. Gennep in for coffee. Brief discussion of the difficulties in teaching such a group as this. Commented on yesterday's map incident. Gennep in turn related the difficulties he was having with arithmetic fundamentals, e. g. 3 column addition. He (Gennep) feels he has a tough (hard to teach) group this year. Talked about program schedules. Gennep curious as to when due. He apparently tries to follow this pretty closely. (9/13)

Later, early on the Monday morning following the change, the notes read:

> Gennep in. Geoffrey and he talk about the kids who have come up. In regard to language Gennep has been working on parts of a sentence (to p. 21). In regard to arithmetic "Good luck" is his comment. In reading, only three of twenty-two read at the sixth grade level. This precludes certain work in geography; "I've been working on a list of terms." (longitude, latitude, etc.). They can't read the books. Takes too much time. Gennep has three pairs of siblings; Geoffrey has three sisters now and one pair of brothers (Billy and Harry). Geoffrey comments that Binder shouldn't have any gripe about Edwin and Allison. (There's been conflict between Binder and Geoffrey over this.)

Miss Norton related other troublesome events on that Friday morning of the change. One of her 15-year-old boys bit another boy on the arm. "His shirt was wet, and teeth marks were on his arm." She suspected that there would be trouble some night in the Fifth Street Park. She spoke also about an earlier difficult class she had had: 40 children, 21 suspendees, and her first time with a sixth grade group. She "broke this group" mainly by getting kids suspended.

Interpretatively, a comment seems warranted: even though the major energy and resources will be turned now toward the shift in classes, the "little" problems and frustrations keep occuring and must be handled. While psychologists have long had basic knowledge of frustration, seldom has the concept been integrated at length into discussion of teaching. In effect, we argue that the urban teacher's job contains a continuous series of "problems" which block her attainment of "teaching the children." Each of these adds its increment of the disagreeable tension of frustration. Occasionally, a major "problem," the shift in classes, occurs and causes a major re-allocation of resources. As the total resources available for "creative problem solving" become exhausted, the teacher seems first to try to stereotype his reactions to other problems, thereby making resources available. He may also lower his level of aspirations and take his chance with guilt, the discrepancy between what he does and what he feels he ought to do. This guilt, in turn, is a barrier to another goal, maintaining self respect, which further complicates the situation. Often when these alternatives exhaust themselves, the teacher responds emotionally - hostilly perhaps, or with more general disorganization and distress.

In short, a teacher such as Geoffrey, who has produced a workable equilibrium with his children, perceived this shift in classes as a major frustration. All the efforts to stabilize the group must be begun again. Further complications exist for he will have a younger group than he has had before, and he will have a split level group which in itself presents some additional problems.

Earlier in the report, we presented an extended description of several days of school. While it is somewhat repetitious to do this again, it seems important to introduce the new group of children who came after, as we called it, the October Revolution. We include a seating chart, Figure 3.1, to indicate the names of the new pupils.

Insert Figure 3.1 about here

The morning is not too atypical, although there is less overt conflict between the children and the teacher and the teaching goes better than usual. The notes are from the morning of October 21st.

> Before School[1]
>
> 1. Alton regarding difficult group.
> 2. Gennep and Geoffrey regarding new math.
> 3. Norton regarding thinking skills.
>
> At breakfast,[2] Alton commented about concern and inability to sleep in regard to his bunch of kids, fourth graders, who came during the "October Revolution."[3] They have been giving him fits regarding discipline -- they won't listen, they don't do their work, etc.

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[1] These notes were written shortly after the conversation occurred and before school began.

[2] The observer frequently arrived early at Italo's.

[3] This is an early name we gave to the shift in classes; presumably cued by Homans (1950) account of the Electrical Equipment Company.

Thelma	Pete	Walter G.	Evelyn	Agnes	Betty
Patty Jo	Rose	Grace	Marian	Josephine	Esther
Eileen	Molly	Walt B.	Joe K.	Albert	Leona
Kent	Susan	Timmy Jones	Norman	Virgil	Henry L.
Sandy	Billy	Sydney	Marshall	Harry	
Elma	Peggy	Leonard	Alan	Joe G.	
Henry H.					

Figure 3.1 Seating chart after the closing of a room -- 9/30

The achievement levels are so low that they don't fit his instructional "maps" either. All of this has boxed him in tightly. (Geoffrey says that he even has trouble with "good" groups.)

In chatting, I was groaning about the new "math." This introduced a few minutes discussion regarding base 5's, etc. This is one of the few times that anything of this sort has occurred here. As a group, the second floor clique does not talk about such issues. Neither Gennep, Norton, nor Geoffrey was thoroughly aware of the position.

In looking over the Audio-Visual supplement, Norton commented about the series of film strips on thinking skills. They are slated for grades 6 - 9; her reaction was that they were inapplicable for "our kids." She was not going to investigate further. I commented about the resemblance to outlining. She saw the point. (IMS. Couple of important reactions: (1) her personal belief "they're not appropriate for our kids" screens out many possible innovations and productive leads, (2) her belief is supported by the peer group norm. Keep returning to the very difficult problem of which reality is real -- is it the kids, the teachers' norms, or some blend of these? How much is alterable and how much is not, is the key question. This is one of the basic premises or givens in the decision making. As you agree or disagree with this, you predetermine a tremendous range of behavior and decisions and you close out another large section of possibilities.) (3) Another important principle comes back again -- varied experience and concrete emotional and perceptual experience. You need this fund of basic S-R connections if you are to ultimately attach symbols (concepts, labeling) etc., to classes of experiences. (Part of this arises from watching Jane's [4] trouble with the language of the new math. She can't feel or evoke images concretely regarding the stuff.) (4) Relates to King Wientge's[5] problem; make abstract concrete and then individual can follow it. Thinking skills require this. Film strips on aspects of thinking should present some lessons in another format; the outlining problem. (5) Raises questions also about facilitation in classroom control through demand qualities of the activities. Moving through more of this material should lessen the number of interaction influence attempts. (See Redl data.)[6] The interplay between the demand quality and the confusion in setting up film strips. Part of the latter should be lessened by film strips versus film and the fact that shades are already down in the morning to keep out the sun from the East.

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[4] The observer's daughter.

[5] A doctoral study underway then, now completed, Winter, 1965.

8:37 Kids in quietly. Joe K. over to my desk. Joe G. also. Geoffrey talks briefly about attendance and lack thereof. Comments on Evelyn's new hairdo. Asks Thelma about her lack of glasses. Quizzes her about what she does or does not see. Some banter. Has her change places with Rose N. Most everyone has a dull, sleepy look this morning.

8:45 Reading groups out and in.[7] Peggy passes out paper. Geoffrey reviews words: cardboard, happen, Kodak, poodle. Joe K. volunteers for all and goes up on poodle. Gets it right, but for wrong reason. Geoffrey enters into corrective discussion. (LMS. How can Joe be nurtured along?)[8] A list of ten words is put on board. Pupils solve these individually at their seats.

9:02 Geoffrey has them bring papers to him when they have finished.

9:05 Henry H. arrives. His brother came in about 5 minutes before. Norman had arrived about 10 minutes before.

9:06 Geoffrey calls on individuals one at time to work problems on board. Kids are very quiet. Most attend to the board. Pace is very easy; no pressure. Most handle words okay. A few difficult ones. Geoffrey corrects but does so in relaxed "What do you think?" "What's wrong with it," etc.[9]

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[6] Reference here is to the large body of writing by Fritz Redl and his colleagues.

[7] Norton and Geoffrey now trade pupils for reading instruction. Geoffrey has a small group of the slowest from the two classes. He has been working on word analysis skills.

[8] Joe K. is a continuous problem. Today is a good day and the observer speculates on the care and nurture of good days.

[9] The notes indicate implicitly the contrast -- some days are not full of attention, relaxation and ease.

9:18 Geoffrey offers general principle: syllabicate to help us read words we know in our speaking. Geoffrey presents "unmanliness." Asks Joe K. about word; he's stuck. Has Harry analyze it into syllables, then has Joe K. pronounce it. He comes very close. Then enters into "manly" to get "like a man" and "un" as "not." Through most of this Harry is most help. He knows root and prefix as conceptual labels. (LMS. The trick here, in part, is using the able kids to start discussions and to use on rough and difficult points. As the others can respond (easier points, continuity, etc.) you call on them. If the lesson has "appropriate difficulty level", you have got to tax the average student and gradually extend him to be differentiated and shaped. The responses of able kids serve as prompts to less able; starts the processes and permits reinforcement. This is pertinent to group structure -- its development (another theme) and its use.)

Geoffrey extends his lesson around "man": mankind, gentleman, policeman, fireman, mailman, etc. (This is elaborated beautifully: prompts are effective, generalization clear, examples pertinent, humor (e.g., when someone suggests postman to someone else's mailman, Geoffrey gives him a big smile. Time runs out and prevents analysis of postman.)

9:30 Reading groups change. Geoffrey checks around. Wakes new boy, Henry L., who is very drowsy.[10]

9:35 History for 7's. Study for 6's.[11] Absent: Pete, Eileen, and Timmy S.[12] Leonard eats candy behind his book. (LMS. Low energy? No breakfast? Need for more rest? Candy as anxiety reducer? As he rustles paper, masochistic need for punishment? Simple diversion?)[13]

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10. Henry L. consistently spent his days with his head on his desk. The stupor he was in made it difficult for the observer to judge whether he slept or just rested.

11. The several absences and several tardy pupils are consistent events.

12. The split classes are a major result of the change. Geoffrey has 13 seventh graders and 22 sixth graders at this moment.

13. Note the attempt to develop alternative hypotheses which could be continually reassessed.

9:38 Leonard on second piece. Noticed earlier that Marshall has a haircut. He, like Sam, was really shaggy. Looks like a different boy. Geoffrey develops history lesson; review on trade routes.

9:41 Third piece of candy goes in. (They are Brach's neopolitan coconut caramels.) Leonard chews away with chin on geography book. No work so far.

9:43 Joe K. comes over; so does Don G. Leonard on 4th piece. Joe K. initiates conversation with Joe G. Tries to entice into a drawing competition. The observer comments "No talking or can't sit here."[14]

9:46 Leonard on 5th piece. Geoffrey working on monopoly concept. Monopoly in trade. Game of monopoly. Most have played this. (LMS. Concrete experience or lack of "g"? Best negative case so far.)[15] Joe G. has been contaged by Leonard and has taken out some bubble gum. He draws into contagion Joe K. who is drawing a ship.

9:48 Leonard on sixth piece.[16] (LMS. The evidence of fatigue and general physical malaise is very evident this morning; Henry L., if not asleep, is very close; Alan M. is hardly conscious. Leonard now resting.)

9:52 Albert H. resting. Harry holding head up with hand. While most of sixes are quiet, few are working (about 1/3); others sit, rest, draw or color.[17] Josephine counts arithmetic combinations on fingers.[18]

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[14] The freedom of the children in moving in and out of the observer's proximity continued all semester. The rules were simple and clear.

[15] This illustrates the continuing concern for alternative hypotheses. Even when Geoffrey "teaches well," i. e. in accord with concept attainment literature, progress is slow and difficult. The reference of "g" is shorthand for general intelligence.

[16] Quantification is sometimes most revealing: six caramels in thirteen minutes.

[17] The lack of productive activity by the majority of the children is characteristic of the sixes throughout the semester.

[18] Josephine is one of the more able students yet retains this difficulty.

Betty copies arithmetic problems (no answers -- as far as I can tell.) (LMS. In tracing causal chains of home environment on school, the rejection, abandonment scheme suggests that this results in lack of supervision and this to too little sleep and inadequate meals and this to fatigue in school, low frustration tolerance, inability to attack vigorously any type of task -- especially one which, at best, is uninteresting and, at worst, is openly disliked).

9:59 Geoffrey over for geography. He notes pages and reading assignment. "Think Egypt, what pictures come to mind?" (LMS. Note the phrasing of this.) [19] Calls on Harry. (LMS. Note social structure.) They then enter into discussion of recent T. V. movie, Land of the Pharoahs. Most of kids are with this part of discussion. Discuss pyramids, size of stones, slavery, sleds. "Pyramids still there?" Ask regarding picture p. 276. Asks if they've been to Art Museum. About half have. Quiz about the mummy. Agnes talks of mummy on third floor of central library. Leona (when did she arrive?) comments about a coffin in her church. (??). Moves back into discussion of text: "Two cities and the Suez Canal." Raises Tyrone Power movie regarding Suez. Comments on lack of historical and geographical accuracy of movies. Raises problem of difficulty in digging canal such as Suez in desert. Asks Grace why a canal: Tries to coax ideas out of group. Allan suggests transportation. Marshall notes connection between Mediterranean and Red Sea. Harry and Alan see point, others don't immediately.

10:13 Calls on Joe G. and gets involved in gum chewing problem. Mild threat regarding sentence writing. Has him get rid of it. Joe K. throws his away also. Continues with Suez and other canals. Harry suggests Panama. Calls on Marian to find it on world map. She's lost (Geoffrey does this with humor.) Calls Sydney up to help. He finds it. Asks about similarities and differences. Joe K. suggests length. Geoffrey asks where they can find it. Pushes toward index in geography and pp. 201-204. (Meanwhile, Leona has joined the head down resting group. Others have heads up, but Henry L. resting head on perpendicular of book. Geoffrey makes quick assignment. Lesson incomplete, time.

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[19] The phrasing of this has reference to Geoffrey's attempt to evoke concrete pictorial images rather than verbal-semantic ones.

10:18 Bell.
Recess-- Other P.E. teacher up to see Alton regarding Flora (Sandra's sister) and problem with her in gym. Usual group -- Alton, Holt, Norton, Gennep (briefly.) Alton makes a pointed comment about seeing the consultant (sometime yesterday -- must have been a chance meeting) and having "enough of that shit from Norton." Enters into brief discussion with Geoffrey regarding everyone's fatigue.

10:37 Leonard moves Joe G. over to "where he belongs." He was rough in a gentle but intimidating way. Thelma comes over. Talks about her glasses.

10:40 Geoffrey in. Take out language books. Sends Esther, Virgil, Sydney and Josephine to board regarding outline. Geoffrey checks around on homework. Most of the kids have their's done. Only negative comment which I've heard is regarding Joe G. "Where were you Friday? You're supposed to have it done! (LMS. Noticeable difference in social conflict today).[20]

10:47 Leonard walks up to Geoffrey's desk for a pencil. Joe G. Moves his desk back. Leonard back: "Teacher told me to move this way. You dig, Mac. Listen, fella!" Leonard makes an issue. Joe K. supports Joe G. by putting feet on desk as Leonard tries to move him. Geoffrey calls out to Joe G. to move back. (LMS. The volatility, rapid rise to naked aggression in the children is amazing to watch. It's in the voice, the menacing facial expression, and physical standing close, etc. In an illustration such as this, it is easy to see how the racial issue might easily be invoked (it wasn't) in the discriminal differences, [21] the epithets and stereotypes from the community, etc.)

10:53 Geoffrey goes through and checks outline. Assigns p. 64. Talks briefly about it. He stretches and yawns. Moves to "other part of language." Has pupils turn desks toward front. Bit of confusion. Banter (brief) with Susan, "I sometimes become confused." He checks homework. Concurrently, sends kids to board to demonstrate answers on sentences: underlining adverbs and indicating

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[20] The degree of this conflict is very high. We will make more extended comment later.

[21] Joe G. is a negro boy who came with the sixth graders.

referents. He sits toward front and has kids work
11:01 sentences. During this, Alan bothers Josephine;
teases by pulling at books, then pinches her lightly
as she protects books; she bats him on arm and
shoulder. Geoffrey interrupts this by calling on
Alan. (During this, Joe K. is doing tomorrow's out-
lining homework. When Geoffrey looks for volunteer
for number 7, Joe K.'s hand goes up and he doesn't
miss a stroke on his outlining.) Joe K. gets called
on for number 8. (He has volunteered.) Picks up his
paper and goes up. Errs. Geoffrey asks if it is
correct. Joe K. goes back and shifts. Still in error.
Geoffrey tells Joe K. to watch. Billy goes up to
correct. He gets it. Geoffrey corrects language papers
while this is going on. Kids moving up and back.

11:10 Note in from Mr. Inman regarding the write up of suspension of Melvin in Room 12. He wants a brief note from Norton and Geoffrey for they "know him better."

11:12 Geoffrey starts in on "waking up."[22] Chides them regarding party. Has ruler, snaps desk. Advises everyone to keep eyes open. Banter[23] with Leonard "you can't see if someone hits you." Leonard in best masochistic self starts letting his head droop.

11:13 Geoffrey comes around and quietly tells Alan to go into hall.[24] (He continued to bother Josephine; she earned some of it, though.) For last one, Geoffrey asks "Who can I pick on?" Finally selects, in good humor, Susan. Banter regarding quitting while ahead. Geoffrey still behaving in relaxed informal way.

11:18 Finishes sentences. Begins introduction to conjunctions and interjections. Sends Joe K. to his seat, "You can't see from there." Joe K. goes readily. (He's almost finished his geography.) Elma erases board. Geoffrey full of humorous prompts regarding conjunctions. Gets Billy involved on comment about "Billy and Harry."[25] Pulls in good humor: Conjunction -- a word that is used to connect words, groups of words, or a whole sentence.

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[22] He's responding to the sleepy, groggy look of the class members.

[23] Teases is the more appropriate word.

[24] This is a frequent and widely used procedure at the Washington school.

[25] Billy and Harry are brothers; the switch of classes put them in the same room.

There are three conjunctions which if you miss, I'll grab you by the top of head, whirl you around and throw you out window." In humor, rails at Billy. Banter. You are never, ever supposed to miss -- and, or, but. Someone says "a" and Geoffrey says this is the last time you'll be excused. Adds "or"
11:25 and "nor" to list. Now asks for sentences giving examples. Calls on Susan and banter over low voice. Asks for "or" sentence from Billy. Banter. He can't; neither can Grace nor Evelyn.

11:27 One of Geoffrey's former students (female) in. He converses briefly. Then shifts his recitation by having Josephine (volunteer) come to board and write an "or" sentence. She puts "You or her may come with me." He indicates "her" should be "she" but makes no issue. Looks in English book for assignment, but changes tactics and suggests 15 sentences: 5 and, 5 but, and 5 or.

Sendy over for assignment. She moves Henry L. away. Leonard makes suggestion. She tells him to "shut up." She, in combined fashion, ignores and treats him like nothing: A don't-bother-me-boy attitude. She comes back to complete assignment. Leonard continues to give her a bad time. She couldn't be bothered less. (Geoffrey had corrected him a moment ago for marking assignment board.)

11:36 Geoffrey finally sends visitor along. Back to work with 7's on scoring arithmetic papers. Geoffrey at his desk. (LMS. It seems that an occasional (Monday for instance) check on assignments would be helpful to get group going and prevent later incompleteness and frustration. Fine line between "close supervisor and abandonment.") Joe K. and Leonard both restive.

11:40 Almost all are working. Breaks up Grace and Walt B. He handles this with slightly embarrassing humor about boys attracting girls and girls attracting boys. Other kids get a kick out of this. (LMS. Geoffrey's humor and velvet glove approach is beautiful. How this is processed over time is another major theme.)

11:43 Leonard to observer: "Can I borrow your eraser? Gee thanks." (LMS. He's so much the little boy in many aspects.)

11:45 Leonard comes by for help on his outline. He has the topic and first subtopic. We go over other subtopics and I try to give him the idea before he goes on to the details. This gets at process of outlining rather than emphasizing so heavily the product. Then consider details. In discussion he asks about capitalization of outline words; for some reason this strikes him as .....[26]

11:52 Leonard goes back to desk to finish. He works along at it. Geoffrey finishes grading arithmetic papers. Finishes note regarding suspendee. Informs Walt B. about audio visual box. (Error results in no films this week.)[27]

11:58 Kids get ready for lunch. Bell rings. Geoffrey says no one up til after gym at 2:00 p.m. Some banter regarding this. Billy raises softball game. Leonard asks me if I'll be here this afternoon". Told him probably not. Inquire, "Any special reason?" He says "no" in slightly uneasy way.[28]

The Seriousness of the Conflict: an earlier day

The equilibrium of the previous example was not reached early. The days were difficult, frustrating and close to open warfare at times. The notes from part of the morning of October 8th are included to clarify the difficult and troubled times in the school and in Geoffrey's class.

> Before school, as we walked into the building, Mr. Osten commented, "All our problems are solved now." He pointed to the new article on the possible election of a Negro Board president and laughed heartily. His attitude seemed much more of big joke than of hostility.[29] Saw Mr. Miller.[30] I quizzed him on how the afternoon went. He said "very well. I beat them." Jokingly, I

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[26] Sentence in the notes is not completed.

[27] Washington School has procedures requiring each teacher to place orders in Gennep's mailbox for regular receipt of films.

[28] The contrast in Leonard's behavior on these brief moments and in his more general difficulties is striking.

[29] The racial issues were salient continuously.

[30] Mr. Miller is an apprentice from City Teacher's College. He spent two weeks at each grade level.

said, "with both fists?" As he clarified the events they fell heavily into immediate verbal commands, issuing of orders from himself, strict and rigid holding everyone in seats. As he commented "They called me crabapple behind my back. But it went very well. They were quiet. We got some work done." (LMS. He's learning the role as it is played here.) I asked him "Is there a general principle lurking in there somewhere?" He replied, "On one afternoon it was successful." (LMS. Raises for me some question of the immediacy of the reinforcement, the intensity of reinforcement, and the number of instances to make it a general principle.)

Geoffrey gave me a note he had received from Louise J., a former student (see record.)[31] He recalled an incident in which she had stepped into a violent quarrel between her father and mother. The father was seriously beating the mother. The parents made up but the father would not speak to her for several weeks. Geoffrey in the course of classroom banter had commented that he would have to send a note to her father (He didn't know of quarrel at that time.) She broke down completely. In his words, she "shed water more than Old Faithful."

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[31] **Included as Figure 3.2.**

Dear Mr. Geoffrey,

Hi, I thought I'd write a note and say hello. I've had a terrible lot of homework to do here lately. I don't like the school I'm going to now. In June, at lunch, I'm coming to Washington to get you to sign my autograph book.

Well bye, Mr. Geoffrey, and thanks for one of the best years of my life!

Sincerely,

Louise Jones

Figure 3.2. Letter from a former pupil.

8:05 Geoffrey down to supply room.

8:10 Mr. Gennep in for a few minutes. I commented positively about the French pastry. He replied that it could be bought at Rivera Bakery. In brief conversation we raised a number of points. 1) There are occasional "good" classes. Apparently this means more stable houses, economically a little better off, more achievement orientation and ability. 2) Yesterday was a very restless day in his room also. He "blew up" at one girl for mirrors, bobby pins and hair combing. He had warned her a week before. I raised the question whether it was "mock anger." The distinction, and we didn't have time to pursue it, seems to be "only once since I've been here have I really gotten mad...They can tell when you're bluffing." Apparently, the inbetween ground is taking the kid out in hall for a lecture. (LMS. To me this is bureaucratic rather than personal anger. The behavior is dysfunctional for the system. It's mock anger in terms of your personal feelings, real in terms of group maintenance. 3) Talked of suspension differences between schools. Apparently, the school in which he had apprenticed, the Kennedy, was much easier on the kids. They would have four or five temporary suspensions and the kids would still get back in class when the parents came. Similar to comment a colleague had made about that school who taught there for a year or two. Gennep has a strong feeling of wanting to be rid of these kids. "They shouldn't have been born. The parents haven't instilled any standards."[32] 4) Gennep comments some about class that he had before (the sixth.) I asked him if there were any boys in group he could like or warm up to. The only one he mentioned was Sydney. As he looked at seating chart, he responded positively to several of the girls. Commented that they seemed "preoccupied." I thought this was apt and said so to Gennep. 5) Comments about use of humor which he's found successful.

8:35 Kids file in.

8:45 Timmy and Leonard late. Geoffrey blows up loudly from hall. Stabs forefinger at Leonard.[33] Won't accept excuse that he was late because of homework. "You do it the night before!" Kids in class can hear it. Some (Harry and Virgil) tickled over it. Others (7's) apprehensive. Geoffrey comes in, looks exasperated. "You make up time triple. 30 min. at noon. You think you're going to walk in this room late, you're wrong... You don't run this school and you're not going to run it." (Most of this directed more toward Leonard.) "Take your time at recess, 15 minutes at recess and 15 minutes at noon." Leonard looks angry. Geoffrey takes attendance. Asks for notes excusing absences.

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[32] These remarks indicate the degree of the problem for Gennep is a gentle man; most children like him, e.g., several of the girls in the 6's cried when they left his room.

[33] Leonard had been a continuous problem since the switch in classes. Geoffrey had repeatedly warned him.

8:49 Groups out for reading. Leonard and Timmy exchange grins. Leonard borrows a pencil, then leaves. One of the other kids finds Molly's pocket book; yesterday there had been big "to do" over its being lost. Geoffrey has paper monitor pass out small lined paper. (LMS. -- as he calms down, this has been the angriest I've seen Geoffrey. The mock quality I've detected before was not apparent. If the kids were issuing challenges he was going to meet them head on. There seems to be no question as to the ground he is on and the alternatives open to him. The Simon decision making model seems to fit beautifully here. It fits also decision making about lessons.)[34]

8:59 Geoffrey finishes chores, getting workbooks in and distributed. Talks to Eagle, etc. Brings note over to me. "The 'good' teacher never loses his temper. Educ. 101." I smile in reply.[35] (LMS. I'm elated over the general trust in our relationship (note difference of first few days); the fact that one has to contimue living in class to pick up totality; the ability on my part to pick up distinction in mock and real anger.)[36]

9:02 Starts them on workbook exercise. (LMS. The tough questions this raises for me are: 1) Is there no other way? and 2) If not, would I want to live out my life playing this kind of a role.)[37]

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[34] Already we were preoccupied by the metalanguage of teaching.

[35] "The good teacher" was our standard joke for the problems of the need for a response to a difficult situation where none of the available alternatives had a very satisfactory quality in terms of an isolated or absolute standard.

[36] The methodological issues arose all semester; we discuss them in more detail in the appendix.

9:07 Geoffrey still restless. Pacing around out in hall and back. Checks around the room as kids do assignment. Helps Billy.

9:08 Geoffrey out and in the class two more times. Clears up paper work, waits for kids to work the brief assignment. Paces with book in hand. Children all very quiet even after finishing up.

9:10 Quietly and patiently the children work through the phonics exercise. Checks-around-the-room recitation. Even Pete is expected to and does have work. When Geoffrey reachesTimmy, he finds Timmy on wrong page. He walks over, checks his paper, orients the child, and has him work the problem. (LMS. Difficult for me to tell whether he's resisting, stupid or both. Probably both.[38] As I look at Timmy, I'm reminded of Gennep's statement, "preoccupied" in his description of the pupils. They are so far off in their own worlds that they seem not to be resisting consciously, nor in any unified manner. In regard to the latter, they don't even make a group.[39] Occasional horse-play and dyadic interaction but no general purposes, goals, etc. Somewhat reminded of the group at City Hospital in the inpatient ward.[40]

9:17 Geoffrey gives them time to work page 2.

9:23 He asks for someone to go to the board. At least half the children volunteer (10 to 12 out of 20 or 22). Sends one child to board for each row of initial consonant problems. Where there is disagreement, they enter into gentle discussion (Billy) over disagreements.

9:27 Collect workbooks (High Roads.) Instructs monitors on collection in future.

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[37] This problem rests yet with the observers. We currently are elaborating our position regarding "an ideal school" for the culturally deprived.

[38] Later we were to have data that Timmy has a serious hearing problem along with his ability, attention and behavior problems.

[39] The latter refers to an aggregate of very disturbed children. They remained an aggregate all semester.

[40] This is a children's psychiatric ward in a local hospital.

9:28 Room 12 people out.[41]
(LMS.--Time spent in getting to and from. Getting materials, etc., raises some doubts on values. Pete working is major good sign; pupils also doing something they have a chance at (even Billy.)

9:29 Geoffrey continues attendance (he keeps a notesheet per day.) Asks for notes from parents. Names each child and mornings or afternoons they missed. Harry had been "to the country." In his case it was a small town (40 miles away.) (LMS--Ease and acceptability of this excuse suggests that both parents and pupils see a day in the country as no harm to child and that it won't hurt to miss a little of school.)

9:32 History with 7's while 6's check their maps. After a moment with a first floor teacher. "If I don't see you people working, I'll give another assignment."

9:35 Leonard, hiding behind his book, eats a chocolate candy bar. All others coloring, drawing or copying maps. (It's not hard to see why Leonard is becoming lardy. He will be a big overweight man one day.)

9:38 Leonard and Pete slide wadded foil candy wrappers and pencil stub up and down the aisle. Geoffrey involved in intimate informal discussion of history lesson with the 7's. Ignores this behavior. Timmy observes and enjoys this vicariously. Billy watches also. He backs his chair into the path on occasion. Geoffrey continues discussion of Puritans.

9:42 Continues. Leonard up and down from chair at least ten or 12 times or he misses a pass. Occasionally, two or three times, he's totally out of chair in hand shuffle board style.

9:43 No one but Timmy is contaged by this; and he only mildly. He keeps his pencil in hand.

9:44 to 9:46, about 5 passes. Geoffrey discusses religious toleration.

9:47 They are pitching --mostly softball style--the foil. Billy catches mild "I don't want to compete."[42]

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[41] Geoffrey and Norton trade children for reading.

[42] This is Geoffrey's comment regarding competition against noise level while he teaches.

9:48 All other sixes still working. Walt G. now disturbed. Mostly he is an onlooker. (LMS--Leonard's behavior has a quality of neurotic stupidity. An obsessive-compulsive type play. Seems like he wants to get in trouble.)

9:49 Leonard crawls around on all fours looking for objects. Geoffrey finishes lesson with 7's. Comes over to sixes. Pulls down map of Africa. Pete and Leonard continue to sail wad of foil. Geoffrey totally ignores. (My reaction is that Leonard is cutting his throat.)

9:52 "Look to page 249 and map exercises." Starts identification of body of waters around Africa. Geoffrey raises question about boundaries of Indian and Atlantic Ocean. Next they move to Rivers of Africa. Josephine identifies and Esther writes.

9:55 "Leonard, take your books and put them on my desk and go downstairs." Geoffrey stares him down. "Put them anywhere. Now go down and sit on the bench at principal's office." Sends Eileen F. with message to clerk and principal that he has sent Leonard down and that he, Geoffrey, will be down shortly.

9:57 Sends Pete to hall. Continues geography lesson with hardly a hitch. Esther finishes writing rivers and then has her write on the oceans. Indicates how to finish drawing the maps: color, label (in pencil), content.

10:02 Asks Walt G. if he were involved. He says yes. (Although this was minimal.) Sends to hall.

10:03 Geoffrey out in hall for discussion. Walt back in (LMS--I have odd emotional reaction -- badly, when Walt went out, relief over his "acquittal".) Geoffrey back in.

10:04 Geoffrey helps Esther finish list. Asks what else goes on map. Cats for cataracts; "Don't draw kitty cats." Asks "what are rapids?" Harry-- fast water. "What about transportation?" Virgil fumbles on electricity and Harry says "tears up boats." "Going to pass out pens and new maps. Too messy, can't write in crayon. Do it over. Include all of these." Reads list. Indicates that ocean should be colored light soft blue. Looks for "bad example." Discussion, and they decide not to color water in. "It's blue already." Assignment remains same. They are to redo map. Indicates map which should serve as guide.

10:11 I'm going down to office after recess. Is there anyone who needs to go down with me.[43] After recess you come up and get to work. Everyone have something to do? Asks for volunteers. Every child volunteers. Paper-picking up detail. Geoffrey passes out pens. (LMS-- Really need strategy data on the Leonard episode. What was Geoffrey thinking through all of this? When did he make up his mind to "go all the way" with Leonard? What are the complications with Pete? What consequences with Timmy S.? What is the "example setting" phenomenon? Impact of adult social system now that issue is out of the classroom.)

During recess Geoffrey comments that he became aware about 5 minutes before. (LMS-- This is slower awareness than I thought he had or a misestimate of time on his part.) He will ask for temporary suspension. Parent must be in three days or it is permanent. Doesn't know what to do about Pete since he has only two months (apparently doesn't want to use his credits.)[44] Cautions Norton about taking Leonard. She hasn't had problems with him in reading.[45]

SUMMARY

Briefly, this is the way Indian Summer occurs in an urban slum school. Lives of pupils and teachers play themselves out with minor problems and satisfactions and with considerable tragedy. We have pinpointed only parts of two days. However, they are not atypical days. The change in classes after the first month produced major consequences. The split level class in the best of circumstances is an extremely awkward organizational strategy. In a slum classroom, tied to traditional textbook teaching, it is a major frustration to all.

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[43] A common practice at Washington was to take one or more of the uncontrolled children when one was to be out of class for an extended period of time.

[44] This is a reference to Hollander's (1957) concept of idiosyncracy credits. Pete turns 16 in December and presumably will drop out of school on his own volition.

[45] This is an important point which we neglected to follow up.

Chapter Four

The Culturally Deprived Child in the Classroom and the School

Introduction

Recently the concept "cultural deprivation" has come into vogue. A major part of our interest centered on developing a clear and concrete image of cultural deprivation as this was exhibited by the children in the classroom and the school. As we observed the children, listened to other teachers, and took part in the day to day life of the school, we began to phrase our position around two central ideas - the ability problem and the mental health problem. These ideas soon differentiated themselves further into aspects of sensationalism, limited resources and defenselessness. First, however, the observer's notes of September reflect the flavor of a number of the children who made up this classroom of the culturally deprived.

> Another issue should be clarified, the continuing acceptance of me by the children[1], which I don't think is as well reflected in the field notes as it might be. Today while I was on yard duty, before school, at morning recess, and at noon, a number of the children came up to Mr. Geoffrey and to me, both together and independently, just to be around and to tell us all their "tales of woe." Sandy's clique is so vibrant, and all of them are so pert and coquettish, that they are amazing to watch. Several of them, Sandy, Molly, and Eileen, particularly, during the lunch hour, would hang over the fence and call to the boys from Adams School who were coming up for Industrial Arts. The boys would comment back and there would be a brief tete-a-tete to the mutual satisfaction of all the participants. They would then go into long stories as to how the boys were bothering them and the fact that these boys were nicer looking than the boys from the Washington School. The girls asked me what I thought of rock and roll and what I thought of Elvis Presley and innumerable other similar items. In class during the geography period I walked around the room talking with the children and looking at the drawings that they were making of the school building. They responded by and large uniformly and positively to my presence and interest. Pete and Billy were particularly pleased because I gave them some help on figuring out their problem, which incidentally they both executed very neatly -- much better than you would expect from either one

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[1] Note also the observer's concern for rapport and acceptance.

> of them alone, much less the two of them together. Elma, Peggy and Susan continually giggled whenever I came by, neither of the latter two did much on their drawing, presumably because neither one of them knew very much about how to do it, and also because Elma wouldn't let them. Sam and Oliver goofed around and from time to time would make remarks to me about how it was going and whose part locked the best. Molly, Patty and Helen got into all kinds of problems as they had the school upside down. Part of them had the school right-side up and part of them had the school upside down. We talked about it briefly and they started to erase and make changes that would make it more sensible. I am not sure how much good I did them there. In the Eileen, Sandy, and Thelma group, Eileen seemed to be doing most of the work and responded quite positively to my being around. She seems to have gotten over her shyness about me, and she acts more and more like Sandy all the time. She was one of the more forward out on the playground. Later after Mr. Geoffrey had commented about the shift in rooms tomorrow, about a half a dozen of the children came back to my table to talk while he was out of the room. Thelma and Patty (for the first time) were the first back; they were soon followed by Billy and Allison; Peggy and Helen wandered in and about through the same period. Most of them were staying in Geoffrey's room, and most of them were very glad about it. (9/26)

While the observer did not generally move about the class as much as the illustration indicates, the growing conversations and their content suggest the kinds of things the children conversed about and some of the general interaction in which they engaged.

The Parade of the Sensational

Too frequently, in our judgment, teaching in lower class schools is defined and illustrated with reference to sensational episodes in the behavior of individuals or groups of pupils. By sensational we mean an occurrence which shows a discrepancy between a belief regarding what might happen and what actually does happen and possesses content relevant to emotional or moral events. Usually the group which holds the expectation, notes the episode, and judges the discrepancy is the broad band of people described as middle class. The generalization we wish to make is this: lower class schools, in contrast to middle class schools, have a continuous series of sensational episodes. This variation in frequency we hypothesize is significant and important. The reservation we expressed in our introductory sentence refers to the fact that the sensational is only one thread, and although more visible and publicized, to the teacher it is a lesser thread in the fabric of "the culturally deprived child in the classroom."

If we content analyzed the coffee klatch conversations of the teachers and our own notes of observed incidents, we could present a sensational kind of narrative of the semester. Briefly, we would illustrate our points with reference to a series of these episodes.

Early in September, Miss Holt brought to Mr. Geoffrey a copy of a magazine of pornography and violence, S__K___, which allegedly was not transportable through the public mails. One of her former students, now twenty-one or twenty-two, had published a story, needed a job, and hoped to become a writer. He was in trouble at home because of shooting at his stepfather -- for the third time. Miss Holt wondered if there was anything that we knew which might be helpful to him. She saw him as an able boy,"a real brain" and as "someone deserving a break."

In the middle of October an incident reflecting the children's environment more than the children themselves occurred.

> Another interesting event that occurred this morning as I sat finishing my dictating near Italo's restaurant involved a Negro man in his thirties or early forties, I presume, walking by with a kind of halting gait, carrying a six-pack of beer. In his hip pocket he had a bottle of whiskey. Even after this long in the neighborhood, it struck me that at 7:00 on a Monday morning that one should be getting started for the week in this fashion was a little bit early and a little bit depressing. The few people who were about gave him no mind. (10/14.)

As we have indicated, Italo's restaurant is only a block away from the school. A number of the children walk regularly by the restaurant and the parking lot where the observer was sitting and dictating his notes.

Closing this same week is another episode from the notes.

> Another brief, in passing incident which should be recorded occurred as we were walking out of the building. We met Mr. Inman who told us that one of the boys who had been suspended last year and who, it was thought, had a court record, but upon further inquiry had not had a court record according to the police, today was out in front of the school drinking a can of beer and generally behaving in a mildly obnoxious and hostile manner. Neither Mr. Inman nor Geoffrey, and especially the latter, had any sympathy at all for the boy. They would just as soon see him arrested and shipped off to a reformatory. The point of the illustration, however, is again the nature of the environment of the school and the fact that there would be a kid hanging around on the other side of the fence drinking a can of beer.
>
> So it goes. Everyone seemed pleased and happy that it was Friday. (10/18).

Joe K. about whom we speak at many points in the monograph adds another item to the sensational.

> Several observations of Joseph K. are warranted at this time. The first day, last week, when he came back to sit at my table, I noted two tattoos, one on each arm. Both of these are crosses. At first I thought they were strictly pen and ink affairs, but it turned out, when I asked him about them, that they were genuine tattoos even though homemade. His brother had put them on using a needle and some kind of an ink or dye. They were not removable with soap and water. He commented that one was kind of messy and really hadn't been done very well while the other one was much better. He talked about getting rid of the one through the use of "white bleach," whatever that is. I asked him if it burned when he put it on, he said no he didn't think so. Apparently he has not tried or has not used it. (10/21).

On the last day of October racial tempers exploded and the school was deluged by parents and relatives coming in for their children. The confusion, the excitement, and the emotion continues our illustrations of the sensational which makes up life in a contemporary urban slum school.

> Another aspect of the situation which came through most clearly occurred in the halls shortly after lunch while Geoffrey's pupils were down at gym. This was the combined look of intense fear -- really terror -- which was dominating, and the hatred and anger which also seemed to be there. The cues on this are very, very difficult to pin down. Part of it was the quickness with which it was most vividly seen in the parents and the relatives of the children in the school. There was one mother who came to an eighth grade girl inquiring about her children who were in the lower grades. This eighth grade girl, a responsible and reliable kid, apparently walks the younger children to school and kind of looks after them to and from the school. The mother was wondering where they were, how they were, and what had happened. She talked rapidly in short sentences, she obviously was quite emotional over the whole issue. Then there was the sister-in-law who was coming for one of the eighth grade girls and the girl refused to go for she "wanted to stay with her friends." (That one is in the field notes.)[2] The sister-in-law, who is probably in her twenties -- she had blue jeans on, scuffed shoes of some kind, and a bandana over her head and a jacket. She had a firm determined look on her face in contrast to straight-out fear or hate. Then there was another sister and her boyfriend who had come. The boyfriend was "a hoody-looking character," he walked around as if he was looking for a fight. Geoffrey turned some of these people away with a cool and at times almost abrupt "I can't tell you anything, you will have to see Mr. Inman in the office. He is the only one who can

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[2] See the appendix for the distinction between field notes written on the spot and the Summary observations and interpretation dictated shortly afterward.

> let the children out." These people were the poor rural whites. One had a vision of some of the strong more concealed type of southern prejudice one finds typically in a community such as Big City or perhaps more typically in a suburban part of the city. (10/31).

One incident, among the many, occurred on a day the observer was not in the building. The episode was relayed by the clerk and recorded in the notes:

> On the way out I stopped by the office and talked to Miss Effingham for a few moments. I haven't seen her for several days and it was like talking to an old friend once again. She treats me as such also. She gave me the scoop on the incident of Tuesday afternoon with the caustic soda. Apparently the situation developed this way. Several children found a bucket or container of crystals that looked like rock candy sitting behind the store. Apparently one of the co-discoverers was Henry L. who is in Mr. Geoffrey's room. They took handfuls of the crystals, put them in their pockets and then offered them to the other children as candy. All in all it must have involved about 15 kids with the candy. There were some rumors that Henry L. had "made them try it" although these were never really corroborated. One or two of the kids were brought in by Miss Carr because they were complaining that they had been given some candy that burned their mouths. Mr. Inman had one of the children take him over to where they found it; they talked to Mrs. Maller[3] and found out what it was and took her suggestion that vinegar was the best remedy for it. Mr. Inman sent around for all the kids and they were slushing out the kids' mouths with vinegar. One boy they were quite concerned about because he had reasonably deep burns on his lips and his tongue. He was hoarse and they thought that perhaps he had swallowed some of the soda also. Apparently, that turned out not to be so as the mother later called about the child and ultimately took him to the doctor. Apparently, Miss Effingham responded initially to this situation with a question to Mr. Inman, "Is Mr. Smith here today?" At least that's the way she reported it to me this morning. (12/5).

In summary, the day to day existence of the school shows a narrative of sensational episodes. We have included some of these to clarify a part of the reality of teaching in an urban slum school. However, the larger truth, if one can use such an expression, lies more in the ability and mental health problems, the defenselessness of the children and other aspects of their behavior and outlook.

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[3] The woman at the store where the "candy" had been found.

The Ability Problem

The academic ability of children from a lower socio-economic neighborhood is a greatly debated phenomenon. The data we have consists of our observations and some test scores. In regard to the latter, we have tabled the most recent test scores on those children for whom Geoffrey had cards on September 3rd. These were the children he was expecting to teach. On these standardized tests the children scored considerably below average. In many upper middle class suburban schools the distributions would overlap minimally, i.e. only a few pupils would score below 100.[4]

Insert Figure 4.1 about here

On October 3rd we tabled the scores on the new sixth graders and on the group of seventh graders who remained. Their scores are reported in Figure 4.2.

Insert Figure 4.2 about here

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[4] At this point we do not wish to argue the point of "culture fair" tests nor the more general validity question. We present the data to appease those with more quantitative and objective concerns.

110-114	1	
105-109	11	
100-104		
95-99	1111 11	Q_3
90-94	1111	
85-89	1111 1	
80-84	111	Q_1
75-79	11	
70-74	11	
65-69		
60-64	1	

Figure 4.1 Distribution of IQ scores based on the most recent group test recorded on permanent record card.

SIXES		SEVENS
105-109	11	
100-104	1	
95-99	111	111
85-89	1	111
80-84	~~1111~~ 1	11
75-79	11	1
70-74		11
65-69		1

Figure 4.2 Distribution of IQ score for children enrolled in Geoffrey's class on 10/3.

The Map Incident

While many incidents occurred which suggested the limited ability of the children, the map incident came to typify the problem. The episode developed this way as Geoffrey passed out blank maps and had the children fill in the names of the states:

> 11:22 "All for today. Put dictionaries away. I have a little test for you. When you come into seventh grade you are supposed to know something. 2 + 2 = 4, c-a-t. Also should know states in your country." Explains. Some dallying questions. Urges them "Do your best. No excuses."
>
> (LMS.--Sequence of influence attempts; comments before action rather than after.)
>
> 11:25 Everyone starts.
>
> (LMS--This turns out to be quite difficult for these kids. Much hesitancy. Questions back and forth among pupils. These are met with shrugs and sub vocal "I don't knows."
>
> 11:29 Geoffrey begins moving around and about. Collects from lunch girls.[5]
>
> 11:34 "These maps of yours are miserable, stinking, terrible.")[6]
>
> (LMS. Actually 3 or 4 states is about average. I was surprised at how poor the students were. Once again the limited knowledge.) "Can't study history without knowing states. . ." Pulls down map and has them start writing and copying them in. Brings out map game for them to use at leisure . . . . "At some time in next two weeks we will have a test for real." Irma with a horrified look asks if it will go on their grade. As if there is something totally unfair about it.

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[5] Several of the girls work in the lunch room and left class at 11:30.

[6] This is part of his "ferocious tiger" role about which we comment later.

11:38 Messenger. Cute little 2nd grader. Geoffrey talks gently with her for a moment.

11:44 "How many have Mexico? TAKE IT OFF" (same as Canada).

11:45 Messenger back.

Sends Thelma for fifth and sixth grade geography books. Back and forth protesting (by Sandy, Irma, etc.) about what they have or have not studied.

11:47 Thelma back.

Here is fifth grade Geography book. With emphasis YOU KNOW THE NAME OF THIS, young lady? (to Sandy)[7] Irma enters into discussion of how she thought Canada and Mexico were part of the states. . . This goes on for several minutes. Gets help from class. Sarah: Cuba's on map. Dick "Have 52 of them?" Pulls North American map: Canada, U. S., Mexico. Comes back on another tack "What makes a country?" "What makes a state?" "Which is bigger?" "What makes U.S.?" Raises question regarding representatives. 2 senators? "Mexico send senators and representatives to Washington?" Dick: "Mexico has president." "Mexico has its own president and government." Other pupils about to give up on her.[8]

11:57 Messenger in (patrol boys needed)

11:58 Bell rings

"Sam, do you know what that desk costs? Neither do I. We'll both find out if it breaks. Not supposed to sit on it. Especially a boy like you."

After lunch the children have another ten or fifteen minutes to work on their maps.

When one extrapolates to the impending lessons in Colonial history and distinctions among New England, Middle Atlantic, and Southern regions, much less the broader concepts of colonists' purposes in coming to the new continent and the beginnings of democratic government in such documents as the Mayflower Compact, one feels most uneasy.

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[7] This is the year before last geography book on the United States; they had spent a year on this information.

[8] Irma argues for two days on the inclusion of Mexico and Canada. Geoffrey explained "til he was blue in the face" but she wouldn't give up. The observer even spent a half hour with her. It was a striking performance on her part.

Another aspect of the problem came into sharper focus in an offhand comment by one of the old hands who had been in the school for ten years. He commented, "I used to feel angry with the lower grade teachers, then one year I had the kids two years in a row and they didn't know any of the language materials I had taught them the year before." He chuckled when the observer commented, "It made you wonder who the lousy teacher was?"

Soon we began to wonder at what seemed to be the assumptions of some educators and psychologists who haven't been in daily contact with these children. Many seem to believe that the deficits are mostly culturally imposed and are relatively easy to remedy, that research has shown the unreliability of intelligence tests, that most large school bureaucracies and their functionaries aren't quite doing what they should be doing and that better teachers, more like themselves, could solve the problem.

In the course of the investigation, we began to look at the alternatives available to the teacher. This immediately raised the observer's most fundamental and characteristic response, "It's more complex than it looks at first." Typically, this complexity indicated a series of dilemmas.

For instance, when a child falls behind in an activity or enterprise, typically he catches up by spending more time or working harder per unit of time. The whole "Weltanschauung" of the slum child is away from school activities. When extra pressure is needed, a teacher frequently turns to a parent for help. These parents often will volunteer permission for corporal punishment or they will "whip him good" if you desire. Neither parents nor children see the importance of regular school attendance--having the children proximal to learning experiences.

Typically on Friday, and especially Friday afternoon, some five to ten of the thirty went "to the country." Usually this was a drive to outstate rural areas to visit "grandma" or an aunt and uncle. In reports from the children it seemed to us that the parents tacitly assumed the children were needed or would enjoy the trip. The pupils uniformly reported, in casual conversation, that they liked the country and would like to move back. When placed in the context of a conflict between maintaining and strengthening family ties and developing competence and achievement, many of us would see some legitimacy also. We have included verbatim a note from a parent excusing the child's absence.

Insert Figure 4.3 about here

Dear Teacher

Harry went Fri. to Contry
with me because his Grandpa
is very sick & we did not
come home to Mon. nite?

Please excaus him

Joan

Fig. 4.3 Parental note regarding Harry's absence.

Often to increase learning, the prescription is to go back to the level of the children. In a sixth and seventh grade class such as this one, it means an average of fourth and fifth grade level. If you seriously conduct class activities at this level then you have the problem of the few children who are at grade level. While this is the ubiquitous problem of individual differences, it has overtones here that seem more onerous. This concerns the inability of the kids to function easily in small groups in independent work. For instance, differentiating assignments, especially those significant in meaning and interest, carry some unspoken requisites. In another context, we have had occasion to observe a seventh grade child struggle with independent study and report making. She was a strong and avid reader, was highly motivated, had skills with dictionaries and encyclopedias, had such resources available, and had verbal problem solving skills. An omission in any one of these would have materially altered her success. As one lists these necessary skills, one almost describes what a culturally deprived child is not.

To catch up, to reverse the tide of influence suggests you must start earlier. Although we did not observe primary classes, conversations with teachers at that level suggest that the difficulties are already appearing there. A strong public preschool program seems a very good idea. Our only hesitancy here is perhaps practicing the error about which we are preaching--the other man's job looks simpler when you have not lived it and you do not know anything about it. In short, the low ability and achievement of the slum child, did not look in our semester sojourn like the simple to solve problem some commentators have suggested.

The Mental Health Problem

Mental health, as an area of concern to educators and psychologists, frequently has been a pivotal point of attack toward the public schools and also has been a technique utilized by the schools to indicate their breadth of outlook. We would do neither here; rather we would use the concept of farther exploration of a series of issues. The field notes dictated after recess duty in mid-October suggest the general nature of the problem.

> I have just come in from recess and am leaving the school early for University business. Once again at recess I am struck by the drain on energy that occurs just keeping on top of the scuffling and the fighting and the clowning around of the pupils. Basically, you have to get so that you can ignore and pay very little attention to it except at the time when difficulty really arises or, as Geoffrey says, when there is a crowd or when somebody is getting hurt. Accumulating fatigue, however, is almost unendurable. This is the real problem of the aggression of the children. It is not that there is any fear of getting involved yourself, or of being afraid to teach in such a situation, it is just that coping and putting up with it wears you out.
>
> Another phenomenon which struck me again today at recess is the variability or individual differences in not only aggression, but mental health more generally conceived. At one extreme, you have a kid like Billy, who is happy, who gets along as well as one might expect in terms of his intelligence, who is pretty responsible, who can hold a job (he has one in the summer) and can make enough money to buy some of the things that he wants. The mean, however, is far to the left of Billy as an example.... The listlessness and apathy of such a girl as Leona, who is so overweight; the confusion within a Leonard is very great. As I watch him, now that he sits very close to my desk, I keep feeling I am seeing someone who is tormented. For instance, he wrings his hands, he stammers, he has a facial tick, he looks totally pent up. And, apparently, he does explode on occasion, as in the case of beating up the girl. The social class bias in mental health scores without question, in my mind, at this point reflects extreme differences in frustration, conflict, anxiety, and a host of adjustive mechanisms. Just where the school is to grab hold of this is not clear at the moment. Some kind of an ungraded school, and here I should look at the ungraded primary in the school, which can be intertwined with some type of a grade level, the use of books and materials to make the lesson more systematic and have some continuity might be one way around this. The articulation could be made with the

> high school in terms of a band of age levels that could be admitted in connection with some floating, but reasonably stable, achievement test criterion. It should be noted that this would be a very complex administrative arrangement, and take a good bit of trial and error to operate. This is predicated on the notion that, not only are things wrong which I think I can support in terms of a general criterion of learning, but that it is possible to do something different that will alter this problem. At this point in my own experience, the possibility is a very real and untested assumption . (10/17).

Leonard and Pete

As we have indicated in the last chapter, one morning the observations concentrated on Leonard for an extended period of time. The context was this. The seventh graders were having a recitational history lesson. The teacher was clarifying aspects of colonial America, the early settlers, the way of life. The sixth graders were preparing their geography lesson. In this school system, the course of study demands that geography of Eurasia be taught in sixth grade and the colonial period be studied in seventh grade history. A teacher with a split class must do both. Mr. Geoffrey was engaged in this process. The previous period,8:40 to 9:30, had been spent in reading. The reading teacher had taken some of the pupils, Mr. Geoffrey and another teacher had grouped the remaining children by ability levels and had taught their first period lessons.[9] Leonard, who was in the middle group, had come back in without any unusualness. He is a big, heavy and strong boy, over six feet tall, about 15 years old. Shortly after he had taken his seat and begun his lesson, the observer noticed him with his head in his book, too close to be reading. Cautiously, his face concealed by the large cover of the geography book, he busily ate a candy bar. As we have indicated, this is not permitted in class. Also note that he has only been in school for an hour and recess is less than 45 minutes away. He slowly devoured the candy, with surreptitious looks to the teacher and more direct ones to me, and then he licked the remaining chocolate from his fingers. The candy wrapper turned out to be aluminum foil which could be and was wadded into a tight little ball. Leonard commenced to play with this, mostly bouncing, tossing and catching. In front of the row, Pete, with an eye out for non-academic activities, soon perceived Leonard's activities and motioned for him to throw the "ball." Leonard, with consummate skill rested his head on the desk, kept an eye on the teacher and rolled the aluminum foil ball up the aisle to Pete. This went back and forth for a number of minutes, with an occasional dropped pencil or book, necessary because the ball had gotten out of reach and one of the boys must move out of his chair to .recover it. This continued for 15 minutes--the teacher had been "teaching hard", the boys were clever, and no-one else had been contaged seriously. After one throw through the air, the teacher called a halt. Pete had been on a series of warnings for not working; he and Leonard had received a lecture just this morning for tardiness and for lack of homework. Both boys had been engaged in similar nonsense. They were sent out of the class for the remainder of the hour.

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[9] Geoffrey and Norton traded pupils for reading. The attempt here was to obtain some homogeneity among pupils. Geoffrey had the very lowest. The most able went to Miss Eagle, the special reading teacher.

While this is just a single episode of mildly deviant behavior, it makes concrete the more general situation and personality issues we would raise. Leonard not only did little school work, he was absent a good deal, and generally misbehaved in other minor ways in class. He also received a temporary suspension for hitting, knocking down, then kicking a younger girl on the playground during recess. The girl's father took her to the hospital and muttered something to the effect that he was going to find a City High boy about Leonard's size and pay him five dollars to beat up Leonard. As far as we know this did not happen. Later in the semester his family moved and he transferred to another school. Pete was probably the smallest boy in class, was almost 16 years old, and achieved about at the third grade level. He did nothing in class. This latter rapprochement gradually developed over the semester as the teacher talked, listened, helped, threatened, punished and so forth. He finally resolved to sit out his three months until he was sixteen. Mixed in with this was some hostility between him and his father. The father had thrown lye in the boy's face several years ago. A long interview between the mother and teacher, and a long session among the teacher, Pete and an older brother were undertaken. The older brother had finally brought Pete, a tough kid by most standards, to tears through a half-hour tirade of the possibilities of reform school.

Aspects of Mental Health

Spliced into the notes were numerous illustrations and tentative hypotheses concerning the sub problems making up the general syndrome of mental ill health. For instance, the volatility of Allison in her reaction toward her brother Edwin:

> Allison finally around to trading a desk. Geoffrey finally off to Gennep's room. About 1/4 working.
>
> Edwin snaps Alice on bottom when she bends over. She turns on him with a snarl "You do that again and I'll kick you where it hurts." (LMS---The volatility; the awareness again fit the construct of lower socio economic status child.)
>
> Lonny back to see me. Sandy also. Allison sings out about crush.

The pupils showed considerable variability in behavior. Oliver, who played a clowning role in much of the early interaction, had his good and bad days as indicated in the notes:

> (LMS--On lower socio economic status personality. 1. variability in reaction versus consistency. Suggested by Oliver who has been engaged in "gentle jesting", e.g. stay out all week because of dental exam. Very different from hostility showed toward Sam and other kids on another day. 2. The need for precision in directions. Witness

> the care given to filling out dental cards. Some kids don't know year of birth, spelling of street, etc. (9/12)

A further interpretive hypothesis relating to the implications of the variability in the children's behavior was recorded in the notes:

> (LMS-- Part of variability of behavior (e.g., Sam, Sandy as Lolita.) You can never trust an adult or authority figure. Adult who gets too close has no leeway to absorb variability. Gets hurt -- personally. Relate to Fromm's aloneness.)

Finally, we would sketch further the complicating aspects of the mental health problem by a long quotation from the notes of December 17th:

> Yesterday morning I saw the complications of the alternative of parent involvement. While it might not be generalizable into a principle, it does reflect the difficulties involved. W alt G's mother came with him to school yesterday morning at 8:45. She was most hostile and aggressive and ready to "get Geoffrey" (these are my terms). He had been lying in readiness for her literally since the time the first report cards came back a number of weeks ago. Walt's mother had made some remark then and the field notes can be checked on this about returning Walt to the other teacher. This had made Geoffrey quite angry. He armed himself with his several books and notebooks of records and went out in the hall to discuss the problem with her. This lasted for only a moment and then she and he went down to the office to involve Mr. Inman. A little while later, Geoffrey was called down into the office also. The situation turned out much as it did with Agnes. The parent had not been carefully informed by the child as to how much work he had been assigned that he had not turned in and how little of his classwork he had been doing. Geoffrey's records are so immaculate that it is impossible to argue with those in terms of the data. This aspect of record keeping probably should be explored more fully, particularly as it contrasts with an individual like Mr. Alton who in the past has kept practically no records for such an occasion as this. Another issue that arose concerned the father's treatment of the boy, apparently just the night before last. Geoffrey had originally thought that it was due to the kid's skipping school, but apparently not so. As Geoffrey informed me yesterday afternoon as we were going out, the father had told the boy that he could sell his sled, the boy went ahead and sold the sled, gave one of the two dollars he obtained to his mother and spent the other dollar. The father, apparently for this reason, whipped him severely. The whipping is the intent of the whole paragraph. Geoffrey commented to me that the boy had welts and bruises all over his back. This later was demonstrated to me when Walt came up to class shortly before recess to stay in the room rather than go to recess because "my back is sore." Geoffrey told him he wanted to see his back

again and very artfully turned the boy toward the wall, away from me, where I was sitting across the room, and took another look. In so doing, I got a clear view of the boy's back. I saw approximately one half of the back from the waist half way up the shoulder. About half of this area looked like it was a combination of broad inch and a half wide welts and on a background of beginning black and blue bruised areas. These welts and bruises were on the lower half of his back that I saw and presumably the top half of the back was worse than this lower half. While my experience this way has not been wide, it was clearly the worst such case I have ever seen. I don't have more details on what precipitated it, nor on the circumstances at the time the beating occurred. For instance, was the father drunk?

The basic point I would make though concerns the issue of involving the parent in the problems of the child. With a number of the children, and how large this number is is not clear, you have the physical repercussions that will occur if you pressure the parents to take a more active and involved role with the kids. When you pressure them, you in fact frustrate them, and this in turn could instigate aggressive behavior. When the instigation results in such overt behavior episodes as this one, it casts considerable doubt on the efficacy of this kind of alternative for the teacher. As I have talked with a few of the kids, they have commented that when they do things wrong or on the basis of this report card, they are due for a whipping from their fathers. Just what this frequency is, I don't know. Yet, I can remember kids of the order of Irma, Esther, and Walt G. who-have told me this explicitly. Some of this should be in the field notes on much earlier days.

It is important to remember that all of these kids are at least 12 and some of them range on up to 15. Just when this whipping stage, if it might be called that, passes is an interesting question, also. It may well be that it goes on until the child is old enough to leave the home, either by running away or going elsewhere to live, or until the child is big enough to retaliate in kind and curbs it through the fear the parent has. (12/17).

Broader Issues

The two boys, Pete and Leonard, were typical in the seriousness of their problems; that is, the problems were chronic, they extended over many aspects of their lives, and they created new difficulties each day. They illustrate what we have called the "negative spiral," a vortex or whirlpool which leads away from such minimal goals of adulthood as economic self support, stable parental and marital ties, and freedom from legal difficulties.

We might debate the public schools' responsibility for these as aspects of the children's development. Should the public schools remedy the situation? Are the public schools, by making academically strong demands furthering the difficulties? These are partly questions of values and goals of public education. They are also partly questions of fact--which kinds of alternatives lead to which consequences, and how are these judged as favorable and unfavorable?

Another side of this issue remains unsettled. During an informal conversation, one of the teachers commented about having been urged to "understand" a difficult child. The teacher's reaction was "Understand him? Hell, I wish someone would understand me." Lest we be misunderstood, the teacher who made this comment is one of the most patient, gentle and and dedicated individuals on the staff. Mental health, social work, psychology, underst anding, were all dirty words. Each was a red flag when used by outsiders and a stimulus for humor when used with each other.

To the observer, it seemed that the teachers referred to outsiders as those who offered advice but who no longer lived in their day to day existence. This, we believe, is a very important point; the day to day existence as currently structured is exceedingly difficult and frustrating. Besides Leonard and Pete, Mr. Geoffrey's classroom contained a number of troublesome children and a number of marginal ones. For instance, two boys were on probation from juvenile court. Several of the boys just sat in class, they would do no classwork, and if they didn't disturb anyone, the teacher left them alone. (This type of truce, rapprochement, or whatever, is a most interesting problem in its own right.) One of the girls, Leona, 12 years old, was very overweight, 170 pounds, and each day would present a run of psychosomatic problems, she couldn't see, she felt dizzy, her nose was bleeding and so forth. Several times a day she had to go to the restroom. She was absent a good deal also. Another girl, Irma, was exceedingly dependent, she was up to the desk for instructions several times a day. Besides these children who wear you down, and the normal fun-loving boys and boy-crazy girls, there were a half dozen boys who were extremely difficult and hard to work with. At best they would do an occasional assignment, they were engaged in all kinds of nonsense in class, they were inattentive, they were in trouble on the playground, they missed a lot of school, often would come in tardy and so forth. The major characteristic which they seemed to possess was what we called "neurotic stupidity." They just could not learn by simple experience. The teacher would make a suggestion, would ask them to do something or not to do something else, or would warn or threaten them -- the verbal behavior of the teacher was quite varied as he sought techniques to cope with the kids. Five minutes later they were back into inattentiveness, nonsense or difficulty. Although it is difficult to speak abstractly about the behavior, qualitatively it did not have what one might call the healthy fun-loving adolescent dimension to it. There was a tenseness, drivenness, purposeless, stupid quality about the behavior.

However, it was not just the analysis of the children's behavior itself which concerned us. For the teacher it meant long, hard, frustrating days. For conscientious teachers,, as were most of the staff, they were faced with a large minority of kids who were highly resistive to academic work and who were individually troublesome and collectively fatiguing. They were faced with their own demands to do a "good job." The school curriculum set certain demands which seemed to them to be unattainable. The school staff norms demanded that they work at their jobs in certain ways.. The conflicts here increased the frustration. The occasional psychometrist, social worker or other specialized personnel who came by with brief truisms for advice was not looked upon with favor nor was his wisdom influential. To those in positions of consulting, supervising or teacher training,we would urge some careful re-exploration of what and how our knowledge can make a contribution to the mental health of pupils and teachers. Specifically the analysis of teacher frustrations, the kinds and the quantity seems very important. Which ones can be alleviated and to what degree? Also, what kinds of internal conflicts are provoked by demands from one's conscience, by special service personnel, by supervisors, and so forth?

Limited Physical Resources

Personality theorists vary in the manner with which they treat physical and physiological variables. For some, these variables influence personality and for others they become taxonomic factors in their own right. In our scheme they are dimensions with bodily referents within the individual which are significant for classroom functioning. An analogy suggests the frame of reference: in a variety of sport contests, maximum performance is attained through careful attention to diet, exercise, training, rest and so forth. The organism engaged in serious competitive interaction is tuned to machine-like readiness and proficiency in order to attain his highest level of performance. If school activities require physical stamina, and for the moment we can assume they do, and if the culturally deprived needs to move in a more accelerated fashion to hold his own, much less catch up, then we are in a position to see further aspects, limited physical resources, which characterize the culturally deprived child.

Our data are extremely limited concerning the diet of the children. On several occasions, usually in conjunction with a health movie, Mr. Geoffrey informally asked the children about their breakfasts and lunches. A number of children ate little or no breakfast. A few would have a bottle of coke or soda and potato chips on the way to school. Only a few of the pupils took part in the school lunch program. Those who did not go home would have a hamburger at the Sandwich Diner on the corner or candy, coke, and a pinball game at Rhody's Confectionary across the street. Our notes are replete with accounts of children of all ages eating candy apples, popcorn, penny candy, etc. at all hours of the day - before school, recess, noon and after school. Our several trips into the confectionary required elbowing through crowds of young people eating, smoking, talking, and playing the pinball machines.

While we don't wish to moralize, our records show also a number of the

13, 14, and 15 year old boys to be habitual smokers with well stained fingers. One conversation with Alan indicated that he was aware of the cancer research summarized in the newspapers and on T. V. from the Surgeon General's report. He commented that he had been smoking since he was ten and he could outrun most of the boys he knew who didn't smoke. He didn't believe the reports of the medical consequences. Only one incident of serious drinking came to our attention. Edwin had gone "to the country" one week-end and had gone out on the town with an 18 or 20 year old cousin. He described with great relish the beer drinking and carousing that he had enjoyed. We did not probe for this kind of information; our guess is that considerably more occurred.

The physical illnesses and uncorrected chronic disabilities possessed by the children also were not checked closely by the investigators. However, to the casual eye a variety of difficulties were apparent. Of the fifty children who were in the room at one time or another, only Thelma and Esther wore glasses. Thelma went without her's for several weeks when they were broken and she couldn't afford to get them repaired. Esther often refused to wear her's. Pete, from the time he had lye thrown in his eyes, had visual problems which never were corrected. Timmy had a hearing loss, which was evident by Mr. Geoffrey's calling on him when he faced away, his lack of awareness, and his being poked and urged to respond by a fellow pupil. During one three-week period when he had a terrible cold and cough he seemed almost totally deaf. To extend the illustration and make the general point, Timmy also had low average or dull normal intelligence, minimal reading and arithmetic skills, serious restlessness, and a reputation among the children for being an odd boy. For him to run an academic race was to ask the impossible.

Many of these limited physical resources contributed to the absenteeism problem which we have documented. The children frequently stayed home.

General fatigue seemed in some instances, such as with Henry L., to be more a symptom of other problems rather than a cause. He often slept with his head on his desk for several hours during the day. Other pupils, Peggy, for instance, would often sleep during days following late dates with a boyfriend from City High School.

To return to our analogy of the coach with a team for a competitive contest, we have an image of a need to attend to the physical organism and a rigorous general living regimen before beginning to teach them the skills necessary for playing the game. The teacher who has little control over these variables often moves easily to lowered expectations of performance and accomplishment.

Unrealized Talents

A number of facets of cultural deprivation come into focus as one discusses artistic abilities. By way of context we have argued that the "frills", art, music, and science received little emphasis in Mr. Geoffrey's class and elsewhere in the Washington School. This was argued within the faculty norms in the following manner: the special areas are time consuming, little enough time is avilable since the children are already behind in the basic subjects. Less well argued were the data surrounding the teacher's abilities, although Mr. Gennep on more than one occasion commented on his musical and artistic ineptitudes. He had had a course or two in music education but he felt totally inadequate to present a music program. His efforts consisted in playing Mitch Miller records and singing some popular songs. In Mr. Geoffrey's class, a number of pupils went to choir with Miss Binder and several , e.g., Kent went to instrumental music. This trading -- some of Miss Binder's students came in to his class for study period -- was a mechanism helpful in resolving areas of deficiency.

Several of the pupils, Henry L., Billy and Dick, of the original sevens, displayed considerable skill in tracing and copying. From time to time they were observed "mimicking" as it were, a picture in a book or magazine. The likenesses were quite close. The observer had no difficulty following what they had copied. On one occasion, Dick sketched a profile as the observer watched. When quizzed, "Where did you learn to do that?" they replied that they had taught themselves. (This was not checked out carefully for truth and accuracy.) The point we would make concerns the limited instruction they received and the possibilities for some respite from the heavy wall of failure and inadequacy in their performance. One should recall that Billy was a cheerful, pleasant, cooperative boy--even though exceedingly dull. Henry L. slept or rested his head more than he sat up and attended (while this wasn't logged quantitatively, it is close to being literally true.) He did almost no school work. Dick, however, in contrast did most of his work. He was among the better group of the seventh graders who were moved in the shift when a room was closed at the end of September.

The important experiment which needs doing concerns the impact of intensive instruction in drawing upon the skills already possessed and more significantly upon the attitudes and attendance of the children. The necessary ingenuity this would require goes without saying.

While we did little observing during Physical Education classes, the limited game skills possessed by a number of the boys was quite striking. In one of the softball games in which we participated, batting and catching skills of the majority seemed minimal for boys of twelve to fifteen.[10] Two individual illustrations will suffice: Joe K, one of the most troublesome of the sixth graders, seemed almost untutored in game skills, yet to watch him scale the ten foot fence around the play yard was to observe a boy with catlike grace. The matching of special talents with particular games and sports remains almost trial and error in the research literature. The point we would make is that limited opportunities existed for extended trials with tuition. Leonard, a boy who appears throughout our records, in size and strength would delight a high school football coach. His inter-personal difficulties, academic limitations, and lack of athletic training suggest that he will not be in school for the 9th grade. While we don't wish to laud the contemporary emphasis on high school competitive sports and some of the problems this poses for adolescent societies, the assumptions we are making seem to be (1) untapped talent exists; (2) success in some socially acceptable area of endeavor can be an important condition for building self esteem and tolerance for frustration in other areas ; (3) success and self esteem are prerequisites for being a full-fledged participant member in an immediate peer group or in larger societies; and (4) a war on poverty must attack in idiosyncratically vulnerable spots such as these.

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[10] This seemed particularly true when contrasted with the extensively coached and equipped middle class suburban children observed informally by the authors.

The Child's Educational Future

A variety of events led us one day to visit City High School. As we think back on our brief observation of the high school, our interpretations seem to make most sense in the context of our discussion of the culturally deprived child in the classroom and the school. A fundamental truth in all teaching is that the child has an educational future as well as an educational past. Educators frequently talk to these issues as the "articulation" of one institution with another. Our notes and discussion elaborates this at many points within Washington School as we discuss the faculty social system, sequences of learning and problems of promotion and retention. The dilemma of the teacher and her academic efforts is seen no more vividly perhaps than in the world which will face the child in high school, a scant year or two from the time they leave Mr. Geoffrey. We reproduce verbatim several long passages of "summary notes: observations and interpretations" to indicate our concerns.

> Mr. Geoffrey and I went to the high school this afternoon. At this time, as I am driving home, the myriad of impressions have not formed into any pattern. I will report them in kind of free association fashion. As we walked up to the door, I was struck by the fact that there were monitors, students, standing guard at all of the entrances and exits. I was reminded of my old High School. The monitors inquired if we were there to see Mr. Sullivan.[11] We said we were. The monitor said that he would be here in just a moment, and we should wait for him in the hallway. Mr. Sullivan had cleared the way and paved the way very neatly with the kind of skill he possesses to a high degree. He took us immediately to lunch. Immediately was a well chosen word for the lunch periods are 27 minutes long and individuals have to get in and get out in this brief time and any lost motion and somebody is late for some class. Tokens are used instead of money. We had a hamburger, french fries and a glass of milk; coffee, salad, and dessert were also available. There are considerable renovation projects going on at the present time, some just finished such as the girls' gym and part

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[11] A high school teacher the authors had known from earlier professional contacts.

of the cafeteria, and some just beginning, the redoing of the biology and chemistry rooms. In one corner of the cafeteria they are making a partitioned teacher's room. Mr. Sullivan said that there had been a close vote on this. They went ahead even after they found that the majority on a second vote would have voted no because of the lack of ventilation that is going to occur in the one corner. It was about this time that I was in the middle of the experience that reminded me of Buz Marrow in the *War Lover*. The undifferentiated blob that might be called adolescense or might be called high school and which in one sense is a kind of fearful object began to get structured as I had images of teachers and pupils in lunchrooms and hallways and images of the commonality of the children sitting in these classes and the children sitting in other classes and other places. We met the principal and received a warm welcome and, also, a short lecture on the drift toward socialism, an extended anecdote of her experience as Washington School principal with a student of her's who defended a parcel against overwhelming odds one day in the office. All of this, while Mr. Sullivan was trying to get himself off down the hall to his study-hall to relieve a teacher who was sitting in for him. By the time we got there, she gave him an interesting look with a kind of a "where have you been?" aspect. He introduced us to a girl named Jean who is one of the "queens" of the school. A real Jill.[12] She gave us a tour of the building. Along the way we met a music teacher who was disturbed because of the physical arrangement of his class for he could not keep an eye out for everyone at any one time. He thought that music, while an elective, should also be a privilege, and he could get rid of two or three who were making trouble for him and who were making it sometimes difficult to reach the musical standards that he, and his supervisor, thought appropriate and necessary. He had to speak to the class for a moment to quiet them down. One of the girls had the giggles and she just could not stop. I thought I was in the sixth grade at Washington School. We met a Home Economics teacher who showed us the kitchen arrangements that they have--six new alcoves as it were -- she also had one room with a special kitchen in it, but she does not use it very much because -- she arched her eyebrows and said "I can't keep my eye on them here."

Several interesting comments occurred along the way. First, Mr. Sullivan commented about the problem of keeping order in study-hall and that fourth hour study-hall -- right **before** lunchtime -- was the most difficult one for the kids are restless and hungry. He had found a very satisfactory club which he wields whenever it is necessary. This club involves the time in which they line up to go to lunch. If they line up before the bell rings, they can beat about 50 or 75 kids into the lunch line. If they line up just as the bell rings, they lose some ground and if they have been giving him trouble

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[12] This was in reference to a *Life* magazine article on Jill, golden girl of a high school in California.

> they stay a minute or maybe two minutes which literally destroys their goof-off time at the lunch period. Mr. Sullivan has a very easy informal way with the kids in that as we walked about the hall he commented to this one or commented to that one about something he had seen in the school paper or something that they had been doing and individualized his approach very neatly. This is quite similar to some of the kinds of tactics that Geoffrey uses with his elementary school group. It takes time and it takes an interest in the kids. It means also that you go to basketball games or the football games or you take part in some of the school activities. He, also, apparently has affiliated very well with the ruling clique of the school. The girl that he had us touring with was quite friendly with him even to reporting a question we had asked her, "How many kids do you know in the school?" Both Geoffrey and I had asked it independently of each other. It was at that time that Mr. Sullivan told us about her career in the high school. I should write to him and get him to comment on the "Jill" article in Life magazine. We had been gathering the same impression of her as she talked about the Yearbook activities that she was involved in and we began to quiz her about the kinds of things she did in the school. She made a comment or two about the football and the basketball team. The former is most unsuccessful, but the latter are slated to be city champions. **Jean** commented that most of the kids on the basketball team were all bigger than 6'1" and that most of them were colored kids. I asked her where they lived and she commented "over that way" pointing to the East and used the street address. Actually, they are kids from a housing project and its school. She did make a very interesting remark that "they live over there-- most of us live over here," pointing to the other side. I believe the "they" and "us"distinctions are very important particularly as they relate to the Washington kids because most of the Washington kids come over from the "they" area which is the other side of the park. Most of the "us"kids come from the area immediately adjacent to the high school. As Mr. Geoffrey and I drove back, the differences in the neighborhood were very apparent. Up around the high school and around the other side the homes are in at least an upper-lower and many of them look like good solid middle class homes. (10/4.)

The observer picked up remaining impressions in his tape recorder the next morning:

> Several points remain from the trip to the high school. In the course of making conversation, Jean began talking about the high school and about the nature of the kids that go there. One of her comments was that there were no "snobs" in the high school, or, as she said, maybe one or two. She contrasted this with some other high schools in town where there were sororities and very strong cliques in the school. She said none of this existed at City High School. In my mind there is no question that there is variability in such a phenomenon, but I would question whether she accurately perceived the existence or non-existence of her own clique in the school.

Another point of importance concerned the general appearance of the kids in the school. While, without question, there is not a good deal of wealth among the students, and as Mr. Sullivan mentioned, the kids work in the cafeteria for not only lunch but for the little spending or cigarette money that they can make by selling some of the tokens that they earn. In one way or another, either by working or by earning the money themselves, or possibly by the fact that some of the poorer students drop out, the kids at the high school don't carry the appearance of the children in the current 6's and some of the younger children of the school. City High School just does not look like Washington Elementary School. It is interesting in this light of the general improvement of the social class conditions at the high school as contrasted to the Washington School that Mr. Sullivan commented that the faculty feels quite proud of what they do with "the material they have" in the way of students. While the number of pupils that go on to college is low in comparison to some of the other high schools in town and, also, to the typical suburban high school, City High does have its share of scholarship winners, and occasionally it has pupils who rank the City in academic achievement and aptitude. The critical comment here is what they have to work with, which seems to be the perennial plea of the teacher in any circumstances or situation which is less than ideal. In response to my question concerning faculty pride, he commented that the staff at City High School uniformly has training at the Master's degree level and three or four of the teachers have Doctorates. Most of them seem to like to be where they are.

> It might be worthwhile to comment a bit about the physical facilities of City High School. They are as close to intolerable as one can imagine. As indicated above, just this last year they have built additions on to the school. One of these is a gym for both the boys and the girls. Prior to this time, the boys' gym which we had a view of was a small elementary school type playroom with pillars scattered systematically through the room to support the auditorium upstairs or the floor upstairs of the classroom wing. It was ludicrous. It was impossible for anyone to play basketball and move about. Currently in the renovations there are two academic classes which meet at opposite ends of the old girls' gym. They happen to be quite small classes but you can hear the discussion at the other end as well as at this end. Some of the classrooms, his class for instance, you can only reach by walking along the back end of someone else's classroom. As Geoffrey and I went in to see him before we left, we observed the teacher and some of the pupils. The door that led into Mr. Sullivan's classroom squeaked horribly and disturbed a few more. On the way out the same phenomenon occurred. The faculty lounge, while homey, was small, and the overstuffed furniture was popping out of its covers. Similarly, the main office was a jumble of staff, students, desks, papers, benches, etc. Nonetheless, there was a real hum to the place. The library was small but seemed to be pretty busy also.
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> One might comment about the problems that would be imposed on a college bound child as he went to the Washington School or the City High School. The major reaction I have is that the home would have to supplement the school fare in the elementary school to a very high degree. At the high school, I would see the tracking program as a major innovation in culling out the able students and giving them a curriculum quite different--considerably more stimulating than would be provided to the run-of-the-mill students. This in itself holds some very interesting possible implications for the future in terms of living in the downtown area.

The extended quotations from the Summary Observations and Interpretations need little further comment. The reader might well want to imagine who of Mr. Geoffrey's class will ever reach City High and which of those will complete the four-year trek.

Defenselessness

In our discussion of the nature of cultural deprivation as it appears in the classroom, one phase centers on the defenselessness of the children. We see this as a corrollary of the "child as a decision maker" focus and of the non-involvement of the parent. More specifically, the point we would raise concerns the powerlessness of the child and the consequences which flow from this.[13] Several illustrations will suffice. In the shift of students during the "October change" both Rose and Patty remained with Mr. Geoffrey. One of the pupils coming from Mr. Gennep's room was their younger sister Evelyn. Rose protested. She didn't want to be in class with her two younger sisters. The essential reason for her staying lay with her low achievement and her inability to meet the criteria for promotion into the eighth grade at the end of the year. Nonetheless, the consequence was a perfect negative relationship, incongruency, in age status and achievement status. The youngest sister was the best student and the oldest was the poorest. The high reading group contained the youngest sibling and the low reading group contained the oldest. They had to live daily with this direct and vivid reality.

The point we wish to make is not to second guess the staff decision nor to trace the rising absence rate of the older but to indicate that the battle was fought and lost by the child without a parent to intervene in her behalf. Although we do not have cross cultural data, our guess would be that such a phenomenon occurs so infrequently as to be non-existent in middle class society. Pairs of siblings in the same room and grade (Allison and Edwin) and in the same room (Billy and Harry) were quite common at the Washington School.

A second illustration of the defenselessness centered on the demotion of Norman. Again, the reasons were detailed and real: he was one of the "impossible aggregate," although not a great deal worse than some of the others. He was demoted and traded for another boy, Henry L. The child had been warned repeatedly. He had been in continuous trouble. He had made his "choices." No-one stood by him to aid, comfort, or defend him against losing a full year's progress in school.

During one of the incidents of racial conflict, Harry got caught up in the issue in a way which makes concrete, again, our concept of defenselessness. The summary in the notebook states it this way:

> By way of summary several things might be mentioned about the incidents of this week. First, they have precipitated a visit by Mr. Willower.[14] This should come off today.

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[13] The image we are trying to evoke is similar to the "total power" conception which the guards in a maximum security prison such as Sykes describes in The Captive Society.

[14] The Supervisor.

> Second, they have resulted in one boy's being suspended. This was the boy who threw rocks. Also, there was a second boy suspended, Harry, for swearing at the principal. As the story was told to me by Mr. Geoffrey and by Harry's brother, Billy, it went something like this: Harry had been over at the confectionary across the street, and had come out with the rest of the boys on Tuesday, when the first of the racial incidents began. There had been considerable excitement and Mr. Inman was trying to calm everyone down. Harry had left his pen over in the confectionary and wanted to go back across the street to get it. Mr. Inman had told him to wait for a few minutes. A little while later, he asked the question again and was told to wait. Then, or on the third time he had asked and was turned down and told not to bother Mr. Inman, Harry walked off and made a muttered comment of the order of "Fuck you". This was the end of it for him. There is a real tragedy in this for of all of the kids in Mr. Geoffrey's class, this fellow is one of the lowest on the test scores, and yet at the same time he comes through with the correct answers a fair number of times, and he also was crystallizing out in the social structure as one of the boys who helped make the class move academically. In the low reading group he was one of the most able of the kids, and I think the notes will show in the last few days that Geoffrey was able to work with him to pull the group along in the direction he wanted to go. Similarly, in geography it often was Harry who could make the sensible guess, the common sense interpretation, or provide the necessary interest or enthusiasm. While he carried some very strong overtones of hostility in his makeup, he did not have the "kookie" qualities of many of the boys in the sixth group.

Such illustrations suggest points in the "negative spiral" which might be broken into if the schools had the necessary resources available. Note, however, the elements: (1) "special" classes or teachers for these children for they could not be handled with 30 others; (2) the honestly held reasons - the school must teach the children basic knowledge in reading, arithmetic and so forth and these children cannot (Rose) or will not (Norman) carry out the assignments and activities which lead to these cognitive goals; (3) the promotion policies --if not actually in the directives --at least as perceived by the staff;[15] (4) the parents who did not come to school, who often wrote notes indicating that the child (Rose) needed to stay home to help with the laundry and the babysitting, etc.; (5) the

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[15] Before one (such as a College Professor, an outsider) judges too harshly, let him consider his own admissions, grading and failure policies in his classes and in his institution as he "maintains standards" and "strives for excellence and quality."

"inevitability" of these children becoming at best dropouts and at worst serious personal and community problems.

Pupil Schema: A final glimpse.

Schema or cognitive map, is the psychologist's attempt to say something about the broad class of variables related to images, concepts, or ideas of people. Gradually as the semester wore on we came to have greater contacts with the children and clearer perceptions of their schema. In the summary observations and interpretations early in January, a lengthy report on a conversation occurs. We include the verbatim notes to indicate the pupil schemas and the beginning interpretations of the authors.

> The next episode which strikes me as in dire need of reporting concerns the conversation I had with four of the children: Leona, Agnes, Esther, and Peggy. They jabbered so incessantly for approximately 25 or 30 minutes that it is hard to recapture the totality and the flavor of their conversation. Let me try listing a number of observations and interpretations. First, a good part of the time it seemed to me that they were talking among themselves and only occasionally to me as I would interrupt with a question about who was this or what exactly had happened. This gives a more interesting perspective on their more generalized conversations when they are alone and when they are not with an adult. Once, again, I tended to evaporate out of the situation and they went on about their business regardless of whether I was there or not. Second, this point in contrast to the first, wove in very interestingly with the other. At times the children seemed to want to have my attending ear and they would talk incessantly at me and run through their whole verbal repertoire in effect to gain my attention as they would be competing with the other three children. I am reminded particularly of Leona, who would tell me something as if to say "listen to me too, I've got something important". (These are my quotes and my interpretations.) Substantively I was overwhelmed by the variety of references to family, boys, life, death, and generally the world of persons. Let me illustrate with several examples. Much of the discussion centered around Peggy's boyfriend of the moment and her past boyfriends. While I do not have a totally clear picture, I think at the present time she is dating an 18 year old boy who is Agnes' uncle. Previously she had been dating another boy, who I believe was Esther's older brother or perhaps her cousin. There was considerable speculation on how nice it would be if Peggy became Agnes' aunt. The kinship relationships here are quite intriguing, or as the kids say in reference to their "kin". Or, as Mr. Geoffrey sometimes comments "Is he your kin?" Second, the kids talk a good bit about and with considerable freedom of half brothers, their father's first wife, and somebody's divorce, etc. My guess is that they take part in and listen to a good bit of this kind of "relative" talk

with their parents and their "kin". Leona kept breaking in with discussions about how she could hardly wait and how her family could hardly wait until she becomes an aunt this March. It sounded to me as if the pregnant one of the family becomes the focus of attention and everyone is excited about whether it will be a boy or whether it will be a girl, and this too becomes part of family lore. As they talk about nieces and nephews and younger brothers or sisters, and Esther is about to have a younger brother or sister this spring and she is excited about it too, the inference I draw is that the kids get considerable enjoyment out of playing with, fondling, spoiling, and generally making a fuss over infants. Apparently this is a real high point in their lives. It suggests the interesting problems of the immediate satisfactions derivable from a young child and the anticipation of the next one, and the gradual abandonment of the kids as they get older and go out on the street and begin to get on their own to a considerable extent. They talk with considerable freedom about this aspect of their lives, Agnes mentioned, for instance "that her mother was married at 17 and had her at 18". Peggy talked about "living a little" and not getting married right away. Several of them commented about the contrast between this living a little and being married in that when you are married you are always "arguing and fighting and stuff." The image I have and no real strong evidence upon which to base it is that the kids as they grow up and move into their middle and older teens find a good deal of pleasure and excitement in the attention of boys, the dating and the partying, etc., and that this should go on for a few years. Then they get married and life becomes one of feuding and fighting with husbands and the sociable pleasures arise in the contact among other women, young mothers, and their variety of kinfolk. It is almost as if the women didn't expect much help from the husbands nor much companionship with them. The doing things as a couple which pervades the middle class mores seems to be not a part of the way in which these girls think and talk about their current lives and their future lives.

Another item or two that entered into the conversation. Early in the discussion, Leona told me about their pet dog who had gotten distemper and they "had to put him away." She seems to have some kind of morbid fascination with death for she commented on an earlier occasion about a younger brother or sister who had died and how upset she had been. These items keep coming up in the conversation from time to time. The only references they made to school were some off again on again comments about how they hoped they wouldn't "flunk". Agnes was the strongest in talking about not wishing to fail. Leona said that she was going to flunk and I asked her why and she said because she didn't do her work. I asked her why she didn't do her work and she said "she wasn't interested". In the same way that life and death is an easy part of their conversation, so is passing and failing. The tenor of the difference in which they talk about this as compared to the way Jane[16] and her friends might talk about this is very striking indeed. By tenor of the difference, I mean "the naturalness" of the discussion. It is as though it's an item that comes up regularly in life from time to time and that one knows about, understands, lives with, and isn't really concerned about. Failing is not fun but it is something that happens and is not something that you worry about a good deal. You don't like it when it comes, but you live with it and it passes on. The girls talked about going to the show and Peggy and Agnes talked about going downtown on Saturday to buy some belated Christmas presents that didn't get bought beforehand. Peggy is going to buy one for Agnes and also for Agnes' uncle, Peggy's boyfriend. Agnes has gotten a radio for Christmas, Peggy got a nail file set which she was using profusely while she was talking with us in the back of the room.

The point I am trying to grope for here is the nature of the existence for these kids. At this point in time with the economic system as it is, most of the children have enough to eat, enough to wear, and presumably a reasonably good shelter. There are an array of satisfactions based upon interpersonal relationships, small and inexpensive material items, the earrings and necklaces and pins of the girls and the whistles and mechanical items that the boys possess from time to time, and the day to day events around the house and the neighborhood. On occasion the kids will talk about other places to live and other kinds of things, as Agnes did once when asking me about Oakdale and the suburbs generally. If I recall correctly, she made some comment of "it's pretty out there". There is a kind of stoicism about their outlook. The range of goals, the desire to get ahead, the future orientation, are all practically non-existent. Life is much more of a here and now. Things happen to you and you accept them and live with them and try to pick off the better parts as well as you can, although you don't plan very far ahead for them.

I am struck by how different the whole framework is. It raises the question of whether this then demands day by day type assignments which Mr. Geoffrey utilizes and whether it prevents the utilization of long-term project type activities. Interestingly enough, it raises also the question of the directive-autocratic type environment which in effect impinges upon the child and which kind of pushes and shoves and moves them about and which they stoically react to. What I am trying to say is that there is a curious kind of fit to the kid's outlook as I'm trying to phrase it and describe it here. Their world is not one which they shape and alter, toward long-range goals and developments. Their world is a world that happens to them. In this sense, the directive autocratic type teacher is a "natural" part of this world. In this sense it doesn't carry the emotional overtones that it carries in other groups and societies. In this sense one might say "it's the way it's supposed to be". And while you don't like it there really isn't any effective way to resist it so you bear with it and do as little as possible to facilitate or work with it.

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[16] The observer's daughter.

In one sense the above might be a first class rationalization, and yet in another sense it seems to me to fit very well this part of the "real world" that I'm observing. The implications for the "ideal world" are also far-reaching. What become the pluses and the minuses of the one alternative or the other? What is the sequencing that is done if you are to move toward a different kind of world?

Unless I am misreading some of this, there is one kind of inner freedom in that your battles are with the outside environment and with the necessities and with the day to day issues. The intra-psychic kinds of conflict, at least for these girls, in contrast to some of the boys, seem much less or even minimal. The absence of anxiety and guilt as it arises from the superego versus ego conflict is not apparent with these children. While there may be an anomic type reaction to the overwhelming outside environment, there is no intervening self-imposed neurotic anxiety. If I were to try to explain the behavior of the children along these lines, it would suggest that Agnes and Esther were reasonably healthy kids in this context although Esther has the religious issues that come up from time to time which don't fit too well. Peggy has this overwhelmed look much of the time but that may be very heavily situational in reference to school work which is much too difficult for her very limited intelligence. Leona, on the other hand, with her terrible weight problem and with the variety of psychomatic symptoms that she has may well have learned these techniques as simple reactions to frustration and these then have become generalized and have also become unconscious or partly so in that she still uses them occasionally in a malingering fashion to escape things that she doesn't like but yet they do not seem to carry the usual, whatever usual means here, reaction to anxiety.

They make comments about several of the children and other objects that should be mentioned also. They refer to Timmy and they don't like him, and they talk about how he is always "acting crazy" and making noises and sounds like a barking dog, etc. They also cite an occasion when he and Leonard, the large tall boy who left our story a month or two ago, and comment they don't like him either. Apparently they took Peggy's purse one time. This discussion came up as she was talking about why it's nice to have a heavy purse like this one: she got it back and hit him in the head, Timmy that is, and then ran off. The boys were trying to trade the purse for a kiss. She didn't like this at all. As far as I could gather mostly because she didn't like either one of the boys. They were creepy. (I think that last word is mine, not their's.)

In the same boy-girl area, Agnes talked about playing some kind of game, a variation of hide and seek and the teasing she would do when she would run and tell her mother that the "boys" were grabbing her. This wasn't running as a little girl would run but running to tease and provoke the other kids. As she talked I had the feeling that she well understood the implications of what she was doing and the way in which she was doing it. There were also several comments about hitting boys or whacking them with purses, etc. The point I would make is that this is a major part of their lives also, the aggression that is. (1/4).

Summary

If one teaches in this slum school, one finds the sensational, the difficult, the exciting, and the satisfying. We would hypothesize that most schools in lower socio-economic areas will have similar children, Behind the slogans of wars on poverty and the sensational accounts which creep into the newspapers are the day to day struggles-in-conflict which face the classroom teacher. How much of the children's behavior and personality, as we have seen it, is shaped by the school and the teacher who have bureaucratic and short-term demands, and how much of the children's behavior and personality is shaped by broader social conditions of poverty and by the more intimate interactions of family life, we do not know. Nonetheless, this is how we found the culturally deprived child in school and classroom.

Chapter Five

Reconceptualizing Teaching

A serious discontinuity exists within educational psychology. The language of learning theory, Hull, Mower, Skinner, or other behaviorists, used to analyze the behavior of children cannot easily be used by the teacher to analyze and alter his own behavior. As we see it, the problem focuses on the pupil as an object, a complex of operant and respondent behavior controlled by the environment, a part of which is the teacher. The child's "rationality" and autonomy are minimized as the program and the reinforcing contingencies are accented. The teacher, however, usually is implored to be rational, to plan carefully, to meet the child's needs, etc., as though the locus of control lay within himself. The teacher who thinks about his own behavior as a series of operants has difficulty in synthesizing these positions. We believe the issue lies fundamentally in the heart of contemporary social science theory, and we do not propose anything like a basic solution. Rather, we are going to present a way of talking about teaching which has seemed "comfortable" to us at this fundamental level. It has provided a congruence between the experience of observing and participating in teaching and the language available for describing teaching. As we meet the traditional problem areas of educational psychology we will try to rephrase them from this point of view.

Decision Making: the Metatheory of Teaching

Researchers who use the non-participant observer methodology relate insightful experiences when the thesis, which lurks in their data, sharply comes into focus. Insight phenomena have a flashing, startling and exciting quality to the perceiver, even though they may be slowly shaping to the outsider. To us, a major result in this investigation is the hypothesis that the teacher can be viewed from the model of decision maker.

As we looked to more general theory on decision making, we found discussions of fact and value propositions, rationality, alternative, subjective probability, consequence, effectiveness and so forth.

Teaching often involves doing or not doing something such as tossing or not tossing a chalkboard eraser to a child as a dramatic illustration of a direct object in language. "Choice behavior" is part of the decision maker's conceptual repertory. It is also part of the teacher's schema. Lying behind such a choice are the teacher's objectives in language arts for the morning. Objectives are goals and values to the decision maker. The teacher suspects that such action on his part will startle a few children, provide a concrete illustration of an important concept, and will give him a chance to compliment lightly or tease gently one of the boys for his skill or lack thereof. The decision maker, conceptually, refers to these suspicions as subjective probabilities. The several events which might occur are to the theorist, consequences. Later, when the children report, within another teacher's earshot, such an incident to their friends, there may occur other events which the sociologists call latent and unanticipated consequences.

Our teacher may not only throw or not throw an eraser but he may dramatically snap a new Board of Education pencil into pieces, he may call a child up front and rap him on the head lightly but with a flourish, or he might draw humorous stick figure cartoons on the board. In the theorist's terms, any one of these or any combination are alternatives. They, too, have consequences. The consequences have several kinds of probabilities as seen by the teacher, and we might phrase his behavior as "subjectively rational." Theorists might attack such an illustration analytically with such concepts as objectively rational, organizationally rational, and so forth.

As the observer watched Mr. Geoffrey toss his eraser and break his pencil, and as he talked with him later about the reasons for his actions, he became enthused about this discovery of teaching as decision making. A number of sub-problems began to fall into place.

The Prediction System

Schematically, a cogent analysis of decision making has been made by Bross (1953). He suggests a model involving a prediction system and a value system. Very simply, in his diagrams the prediction system choices lead to alternatives and alternatives to consequences. The consequences have varying probabilities. Although his diagrams do not indicate them, arrows should run from Alternative A_1 to the Consequences following from A_2, and vice versa also. The probabilities may be close to zero but they should be indicated.

Insert Figure 5.1 about here

Similarly his figure should be elaborated to account for latent and unanticipated as well as manifest consequences.[1] Throughout the

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[1] In another project, Social psychological dimensions of school building design, (Smith and Keith, 1966) we are making an intensive analysis of this conception.

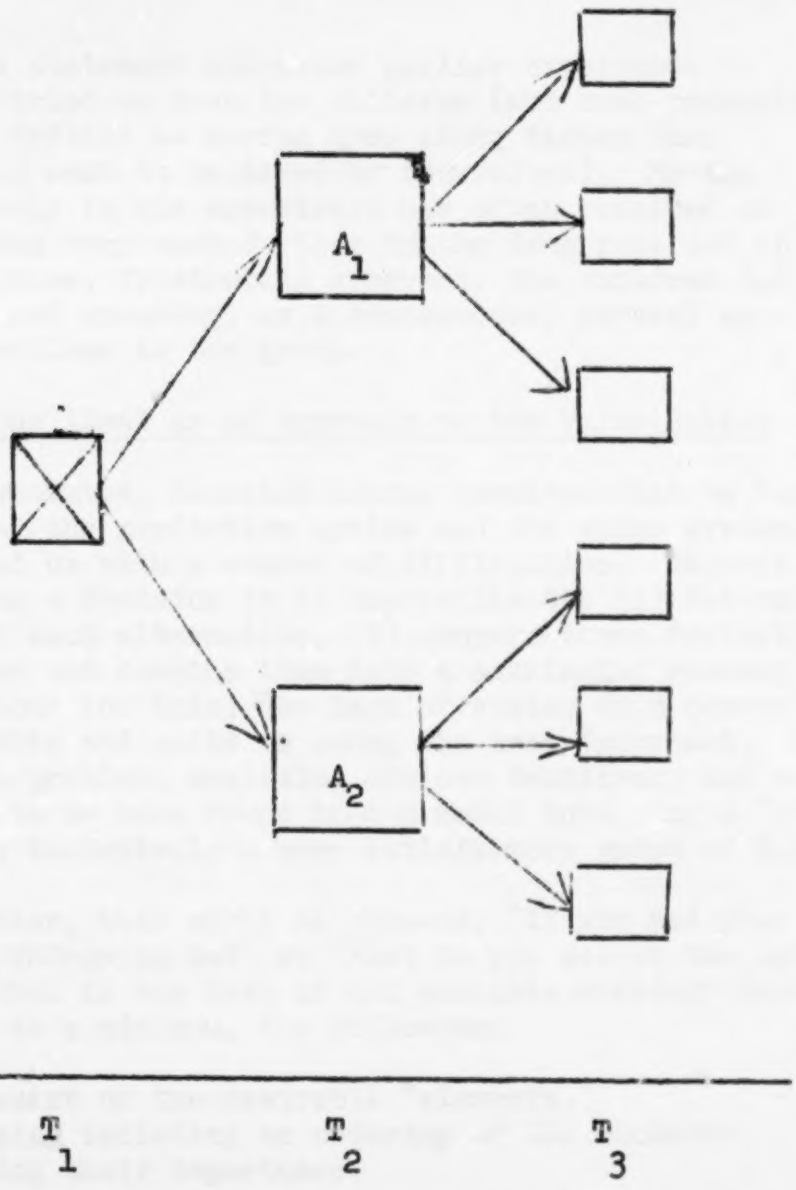
A_1
A_2
T_1
T_2
T_3

Figure 5.1. An adaptation of a Bross' decision tree (1953, p. 25).

account in the description of the development of the classroom, alternatives arose which seemed plausible to the observer. On occasions as these were suggested to Mr. Geoffrey, he would react with an intuitive feeling that this would not be appropriate. As we talked, he would elaborate a variety of c onsequences which the observer had only partially anticipated. An illustration of this occurred early in the semester with the concept of "pacing" and the slow speed with which the children were introduced to academic content. The notes capture his reaction:

> . . . his statement concerned earlier experience in which he tried to rush the children (and rush probably would be defined as moving them along faster than they would want to be moved by themselves). Moving more rapidly in his experience has often resulted in not getting very much farther in the long run, and at the same time, frustrating everyone, the children and himself, and creating, as a consequence, several emotional problems in the group.

The Conception of the Ideal as an Approach to the Value System

As we have elaborated, decision making involves what we have called, after Bross, the prediction system and the value system. The latter has presented us with a number of difficulties. In most situations requiring a decision it is impossible to: (1) determine the desirability of each alternative, (2) compare these desirabilities and undesirabilities and combine them into a meaningful summary. Among the many reasons for this, the lack of scales with common meaningful zero points and units is among the most important. In wrestling with this problem, analyzing our own decisions, and attempting to order our data we have found that a model involving a "conception of the ideal" makes tentatively a more satisfactory point of departure.

In the vernacular, this might be phrased, "If you had your druthers how would you like things to be?" or "What do you see as the optimal equilibrium?" or "What is the best of all possible worlds?" Such a statement implies, as a minimum, the following:

1. An assessment of the desirable "elements."
2. A patterning including an ordering of the elements surrounding their importance.
3. One man's optimal pattern is not another's; i.e. it is subjective.
4. The pattern of one system, e.g. one's job, must be articulated ultimately with other systems, family, self as a person, and so forth.
5. The ideal may change momentarily or over long periods of time.
6. The system may be congruent or in conflict with systems of other individuals, groups, or institutions.

In essence, this involves a careful elaboration of an individual's goals. As value premises these are statements of wishes and desires. The ultimate goals, whether they be a well considered philosophy of life, religious position, or ethical social-political framework, is a statement of first principles, which because they are first principles by definition are not derivable from other propositions. Classroom goals and conceptions of the ideal must necessarily fit into this and relate to it with varying degrees of probability. Classroom ideals must also effect a compromise among personal, group, organizational and community positions.

Combining the Prediction and the Value Systems

In one sense decision making involves a very simple judgment as to whether the prediction system surrounding one alternative or chain of alternatives corresponds more closely to the ideal conception than does the prediction system following the selection of another alternative. Obviously, decisions are not that easy.

To return to our data, Mr. Geoffrey had to decide, after a month of school, which children would be sent to the next teacher and which children would remain with him. As he later commented on the decision, the prediction and value elements stand out rather dramatically:

> I decided to send to her the group I had received at the beginning of the year--mostly repeats from Rooms 13 and 14 and new students who had come in. I kept the other 'natural' group--those who had come to me from Room 16. I did this because the group I sent her was older, etc., than the Room 16 group, and I felt the seventh grade group would fit better with the sixth graders than would the other group. . . . the numbers were okay per the instructions from the office. . . . I was sensitive to what had happened the previous year. I chose the simplest way administratively and one which I thought she would have the least complaint about.

And in regard to the complications arising from the fact that several groups of siblings were involved:

> Some of these kids had been together anyway. Since I made the decision by groups I saw no particular reason to make any exceptions. . . . After all, I had both Allison and Edwin together anyway, and she (another teacher) had had both Patty and Rose together. All-in-all again, I took the simplest way to a decision--by the groups in which the children came to me.

Strategically, we would hypothesize that the process proceeds more effectively when one frames his ideal or value system first. By asking for an organized statement of ends, conditioned by the time, place, and circumstances in which decisions must be made (and this needs elaboration), one introduces what is usually called flexibility and rationality. Then, immediately as alternatives are raised at any choice point, one can compute probabilities of an alternative aiding the attainment of a goal or sub-goal. One of our next research steps will attempt to verify hypotheses in teacher attempts to combine prediction and value systems.

Operationalizing the Decision Making Model

The decision making model has tremendous possibilities we think in linking conceptually such diverse influences on the classroom as the formal curriculum guides, the faculty peer group beliefs and norms, and the composition of the class itself--be it lower s.e.s. as in Mr. Geoffrey's case or in a class in general, and treating teaching functionally rather than just structurally. To make the conceptual models viable, operational techniques become mandatory. For a long period of time we had considerable difficulty in thinking through concrete ways in which we could implement the model in field research with ongoing classes. While our discovery, if it be that, sounds simple as hindsight, the process of arrival was slow and difficult. The lead we see here combines several elements: first one must establish several "natural" units in teaching--the lesson, the day, the week, the unit or the semester. It is our belief that the unit will vary with a number of conditions: for instance Mr. Geoffrey's spelling program had basically a weekly rhythm within which there was also daily regularities. The independent reading, library books and book reports, had a semester unit as the rhythm.

If we select a single lesson in a subject such as geography we can illustrate further. The model requires that the teacher be quizzed via questionnaires or interviews concerning her goals (the value system) and the means (the prediction system) for reaching the goals in the geography lesson. An alternative, which has the beauty of objectivity and ease of access, is to make the age-old "lesson plan" into a functioning research tool.[2] In Mr. Geoffrey's case, as with many experienced teachers, the lesson plans in geography lay in his head, in the text, and in assignments registered in his "plan book" which all teachers were supposed to keep up to date.

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[2] Incidentally the research literature on lesson plans is almost barren. This also provides possible articulation with the volume by Miller, et al, Plans and the Structure of Behavior. N.Y.: Holt, 1960.

After selecting the unit and obtaining quantifiable statements of plans and intentions the third step, careful observation--with a move toward reliable quantifiable schedules--of the lesson, would then occur. Fourth, post lesson interviews or questionnaires concerning altered goals and means and cues which suggested to the teacher the need for alterations could be obtained. As a number of teachers in varying situations are studied verifiable principles should be generated.

Such a mode of research would allow comparisons between school and teacher goals, would begin to clarify our concept of functional equivalents, would move away from an overall "good-bad" assessment in favor of more situationally expressed aims and procedures. It would capture more of the ebb and flow of teaching which many of our analyses have missed up to this time as we have focused on what the teacher does independent of his thought processes, and analyses of what he thinks, independent of what he actually does. Such research also provides a means of attacking the problems of inservice education and altering teaching in mutually desirable directions.

Additional Implications

With the model in hand, we began to see a number of additional implications into difficult problems. We entitled these: legitimizing the "What do I do?" question, the best of a bad situation, congruence with teacher schema, model of the teacher training product and treating children as decision makers. In a short paragraph we would spell out each of these.

By legitimizing the What do I do? question we mean that for many years, in our experience, teachers have been asking the question, "What do I do with this child, this situation, or this problem?" For as many years, in our experience, psychologists and teacher educators have parried the question by remarking "It's impossible to respond to such a question; answers aren't that simple." To their colleagues, the teachers comment about unhelpful experts. The psychologists and teacher educators, to their colleagues, comment about the teachers wanting "something practical," "wanting a push-button psychology," or "wanting recipes."[3] The hypothesis we would offer is that the decision making model legitimizes the teacher's question. By this we mean, there is basic psychological theory into which such a question is not heresy, but in which the question, in its more abstract form, holds a central position. For instance in a literature lesson, What goals do I have?

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[3] One of the major exceptions to the shying away tendency has occurred in the efforts of Fritz Redl and his colleagues, especially The Aggressive Child (1957).

What are the specific ways I can present this material? What probabilities of success exist for changed attitudes? for increased information? for improved reading skills? A research supported theory of teaching will indicate the probabilities of these relationships.

The best of a bad situation suggests another group of difficult problems faced by the teacher. For example, Mr. Geoffrey was faced with the dilemma of giving or not giving homework assignments. Part of his thinking was predicated on such propositions as (1) These children are academically behind for their age and grade. (2) Additional work beyond class time is necessary to maintain progress much less to cancel the increasing discrepancy. (3) The kids are apathetic and will do little homework. (4) The parents are disinterested in school and will not support the teacher's efforts. (5) Assignments which are made but not carried out will weaken the teacher's power and control in future situations. As we, Mr. Geoffrey and I, talked about such complexities in assignment making, he would ask, with a twinkle in his eye, what would "the good teacher" do in this instance. The "good teacher" was one of our standing jokes of ideal means in the real world and of pat solutions to these difficult problems. The decision model point of view suggests that each alternative or pattern of alternatives has outcomes scalable in desirability as well as probability. On occasion the range is from low or moderate undesirable to extremely undesirable. The solution rests in picking an alternative which, while not desirable in some absolute sense, is relatively more desirable than other alternatives. In the teacher's terms, you "make the best of a bad situation." Such an analysis fosters rationality, suggests pertinent research problems, and lessens the load of guilt carried by the teacher. Obviously one must guard against restriction in alternatives considered and rationalization in logical analysis.

Congruence with teacher schema concerns the consequence of making the model conscious and explicit. When this conception was first raised with Mr. Geoffrey he was skeptical. He found Simon's Administrative Theory book not especially exciting. As we introduced appropriate content this skepticism moderated. If it can be established that teachers implicitly operate within this framework then we may have an important vehicle for moving from the "real world" to one we might call, on some grounds, more ideal. Specifically, we are thinking here of long, involved discussions that we have had with students who reject Skinner's image of man as it is presented in Walden II and Science of Human Behavior, and who have difficulty thinking of classroom problems in behavioristic terms. If the shifts one is trying to make do not demand reorganization of the basic dimensions of teachers' conceptual systems, the probability for alteration and innovation should be higher. This hypothesis needs evidence.

The model provides, for us, a clearer image of the product of a teacher education program and suggests some experiences, role playing, simulation, and successive approximation in classroom behavior, as vital but not currently prevalent. We are planning currently to build situations and problems from our data and present these in our teacher training program. We hope this will have a number of affective as well as cognitive effects upon our undergraduates in the preservice program.

Another implication upon which we are working is this--in some contexts Mr. Geoffrey treated the children as decision makers. He acted with them, both verbally and non-verbally as if they had choices, e.g. to attend or not attend, to behave or not behave, to do their work or not. They were held responsible, accountable for their actions. He indicated the consequences which followed such choices on their part and which consequences he had control over--that is which were alternatives in his own repertory. For purposes of the present discussion, we would hypothesize that the conception of the child as a decision maker is a different conception than the child as a product of operant and respondent conditioning. We state this a bit hesitantly for we recently finished an educational psychology text in which we take, in part, a strong Skinnerian bias (Smith and Hudgins, 1964). Also we are hesitant in that we have not pushed, as yet, the comparison at any length or depth. On the positive side, it helps us integrate two aspects of the counseling and mental hygiene literature. Ralph Ojemann's (1958) "causality training" and E. G. Williamson's (1950) "clinical counseling" attempt to make clients more rational seem closely alighed with the decision making point of view. Mental Health problems, we have argued, are an important dimension of the reality of cultural deprivation in the classroom. Insofar as these psychological positions can be integrated conceptually, they can be drawn upon for help.

Conclusion: Situational Thinking, Process, and The Larger Structure

As we've sketched the prediction system and the value system, we've implied another set of considerations in decision-making. These include situational thinking, process over time, and the larger structure. By larger structure we mean the context in which the problem resides. As we've described Mr. Geoffrey's thinking about the children who would be sent to the next room the context includes the teacher who would receive the pupils, the formal regulations, the informal staff and pupil norms, repercussions on the children and so forth. In effect, we are asking for many of the items which would make more specific,complex, and elaborate the prediction and value systems. The benefits of a general theory of teaching arise here for the necessary aspects and dimensions would be set down, tentatively at least in the general theory.

The concept situational thinking accents the momentarily important aspects in time and space. For instance Mr. Geoffrey and one of his colleagues postponed some cooperative teaching plans in arithmetic and geography because they didn't want to add another problem to the burden the Principal carried at the moment, for he was busy with a variety of difficult and time-consuming issues. Also they discussed, in terms of who had made the most demands recently, which of them would broach the subject. While this was cloaked in humor and repartee, it did not veil the intuitive understanding each had for the way the system worked.

Finally, the model stresses a time dimension, and consequently accents processes as well as structure. Each decision rests upon a past and has implications for the future. Related to this aspect of the process is the further notion that forces outside the teacher's immediate control influence the system and as time moves on, the situation will be different and must be reanalyzed. As we have commented the most dramatic instance of this during the semester was the administrative decision which changed five single grade level classes into split-level classes, e.g. gave Mr. Geoffrey beginning sixth graders as well as beginning seventh graders.

Issues of Substance: The Behavior of Teaching

While it has been helpful to us to have beginnings of clarity in the general language structure utilized in teaching, the "practical teacher" wants the meta language cloaked in the day-to-day problems of teaching, the flesh and blood as it were, rather than just the skeleton. In this section we will present basic concepts and principles from a developing theory. In effect they will become issues and alternatives in the middle of teaching decisions. As we describe the situations which provoked the concept we will keep returning to our common language and we will also suggest possible operations which will move the reader to experimental and verificational research.

When one has a number of concepts at approximately the same level of abstraction, a press develops to group them in hierarchial fashion. Tentatively we find that situational thinking and preparation for contingencies have a contextual flavor. The concepts: awareness, provisional trial, ringmaster, continuity, sequential smoothness and teaching in motion all contain ways of looking at the art in process. Finally, autonomy, lambs, tigers and anger, and individualizing instruction, highlight the children and teachers as separate entities.

The Situation: a Distinction Between "Here" and "Out There"

One of Mr. Geoffrey's distinctions, "here and out there" states a problem, a resolution and a whole series of assumptions. Specifically the "here" refers to the classroom and the "out there" refers to the child outside the school, in the home and the community. The distinction was first noted by the observer in the context of language arts. Geoffrey in trying to improve the verbal behavior of one of the pupils commented that she should use the correct form of expression in class. He acknowledged that he did not have control of her behavior outside of class, and, in effect, she could do as she wanted there. The specific illustration seemed to raise a fundamental issue in teacher behavior. To explore it further the problem lies essentially in whether the classroom stress in language arts should be one which maintains a sharp distinction that it is to be applied in the classroom but not necessarily out of school. The other side of the argumant states that transfer is the most important goal, learning is more meaningful when related, and learning is retained longer. Seldom do classroom learning theorists pose the problem as one of personal conflict for the child.

One assumption seems to be that the motivational problem is paramount. The child "knows" the right answer but he won't practice it. A fair share of the truth of the matter seems to fall this way, especially regarding such terminology as "ain't", "them guys", and so forth. When the pupils are called on for the errors they usually correct them readily. In more subtle discriminations the children seem not to "know". This problem becomes more complex as issues of motivation, relevance, and minimal practice and maintenance of skills, become important.

A further alternative lies in that area which suggests a middle way. "Teach them that it depends on the situation" contains the ingredients of this hypothesis. Several implications reside in the suggestion. First, a portion of one's time must be spent in developing a conception of language as not an all or nothing, a right or wrong way of doing things but rather a flexible set of conventions which are applied differentially depending on one's setting and one's purposes. This assumes, of course, that one has a conception of situations or settings that can be conceptualized, discriminated, and taught to the children. It assumes also that the children have the capacities to make these discriminations and to build relatively independent repertories or systems of language habits. The introduction of this kind of relativity into one area of behavior can cue the possibility that other areas are open for subtle discriminations. When this extends into teacher-pupil relations and classroom control, the clear authority patterns also come open to question. If these are opened for discussion, in an institution which draws and holds at least initially, its members because of coercive external legal reasons rather than some self-selections and common motivation one has an interesting phenomenon developing.

Insert Figure 5.2 about here

Finally, as we have suggested earlier, the whole conception of situational thinking is fundamental to our analysis of teacher behavior and teacher-pupil interaction. The behavior and the interaction always occur in a context, a situation; isolation of the behavior or the interaction is to make a gross error in the analysis of the process of teaching.

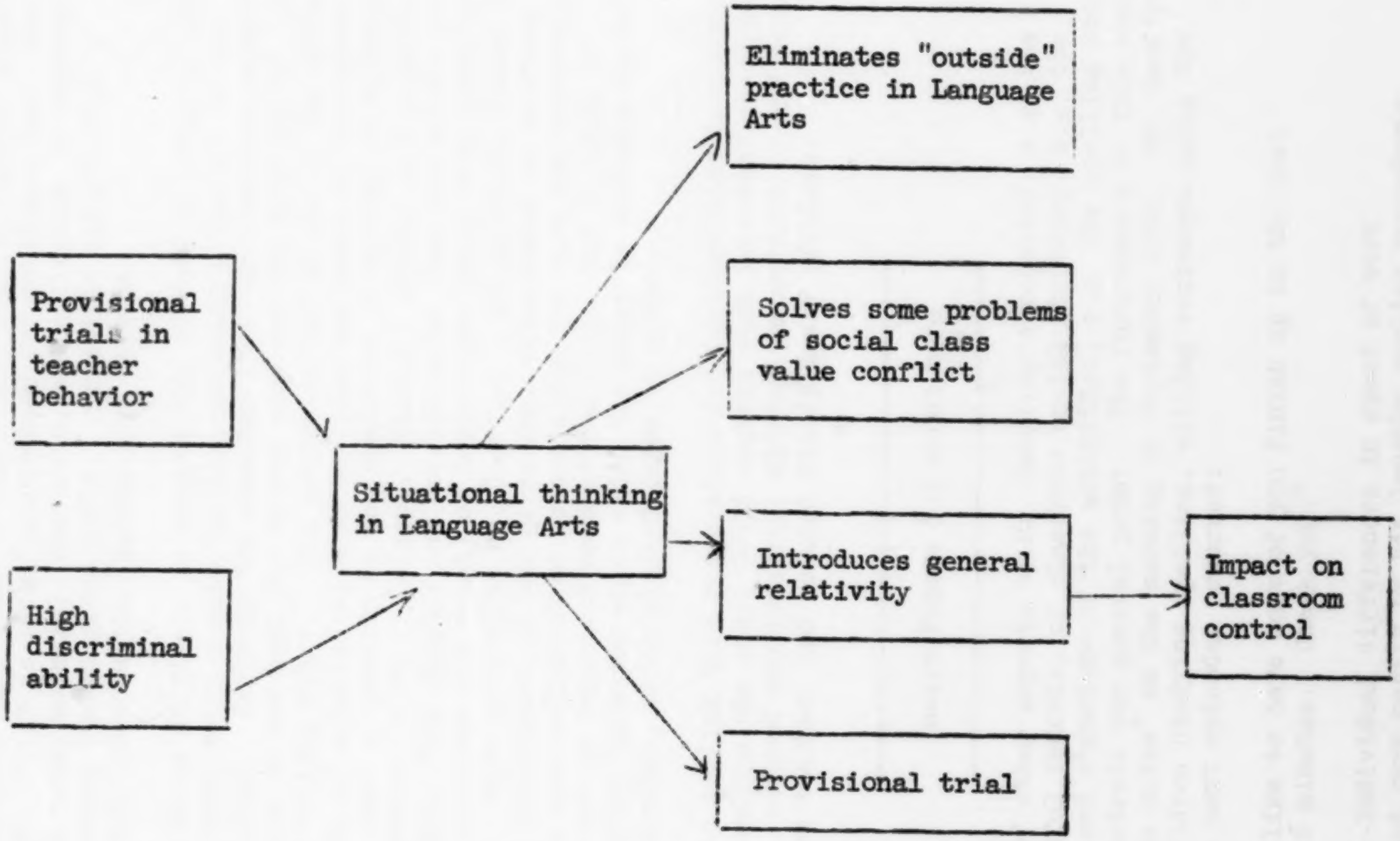
Provisional trials in teacher behavior
High discriminal ability
Situational thinking in Language Arts
Eliminates "outside" practice in Language Arts
Solves some problems of social class value conflict
Introduces general relativity
Provisional trial
Impact on classroom control

Figure 5.2. Implications of situational thinking.

Preparation for Contingencies

While in this monograph we don't propose to analyze the concept of teacher experience many items of the report seem to specify aspects of this concept. So it is with "preparation for contingencies", the mobilization of time, material resources, and activities to overcome barriers in working toward group goals. A specific illustration of the general point concerns the "safety pin" episode.

Sometimes it is difficult to analyze the effects of being an upper elementary teacher, being a male teacher, or being a teacher of the culturally deprived. Early in the semester (9/8) Mr. Geoffrey entered into a discussion of the need for safety pins and the problems of "girls who are always falling apart." His action in having one of the girls buy a collection of assorted size safety pins had benefits throughout the semester. Part of poverty is the condition of having old clothes with missing buttons or faulty clasps. Blouses, skirts, and lingerie (if our inferences from giggles and hurried trips from the safety pin drawer to the cloakroom are sound) of lower class girls seem constructed of safety pins. More generally, Mr. Geoffrey's preparations seemed to entail: active involvement of the girls--one volunteered to purchase the pins; the users were obligated to return a pin for each one borrowed; behavior which met an important need of the girls; and in terms of our general concept behavior which aided the group to continue functioning, overcome hurdles, which blocked paths to goals.

If we tried to link this preparation-for-contingencies into more general relationships the model would contain such important concepts as frustration, reduced emotionality, altered perceptions of and sentiments toward the teacher, and reduced disciplinary problems.

Insert Figure 5.3 about here

A number of other aspects of Mr. Geoffrey's behavior, e.g. the keeping of careful records, of classroom social structure, e.g. the monitor roles, and structure of the activities, e.g. the spelling routine, might well illustrate our general point. The forerunners of this analysis were "in the notes" on the morning of September 10th. Mr. Geoffrey had had the children studying spelling, writing sentences using the words, when the next episodes occurred:

> 9:12 "I'd like to have most of you finish up in the next 5 or 6 minutes. Check you."
>
> (LMS--Individual differences in speed of work handled very neatly by his lengthy earlier procedures of reading book assignments.)

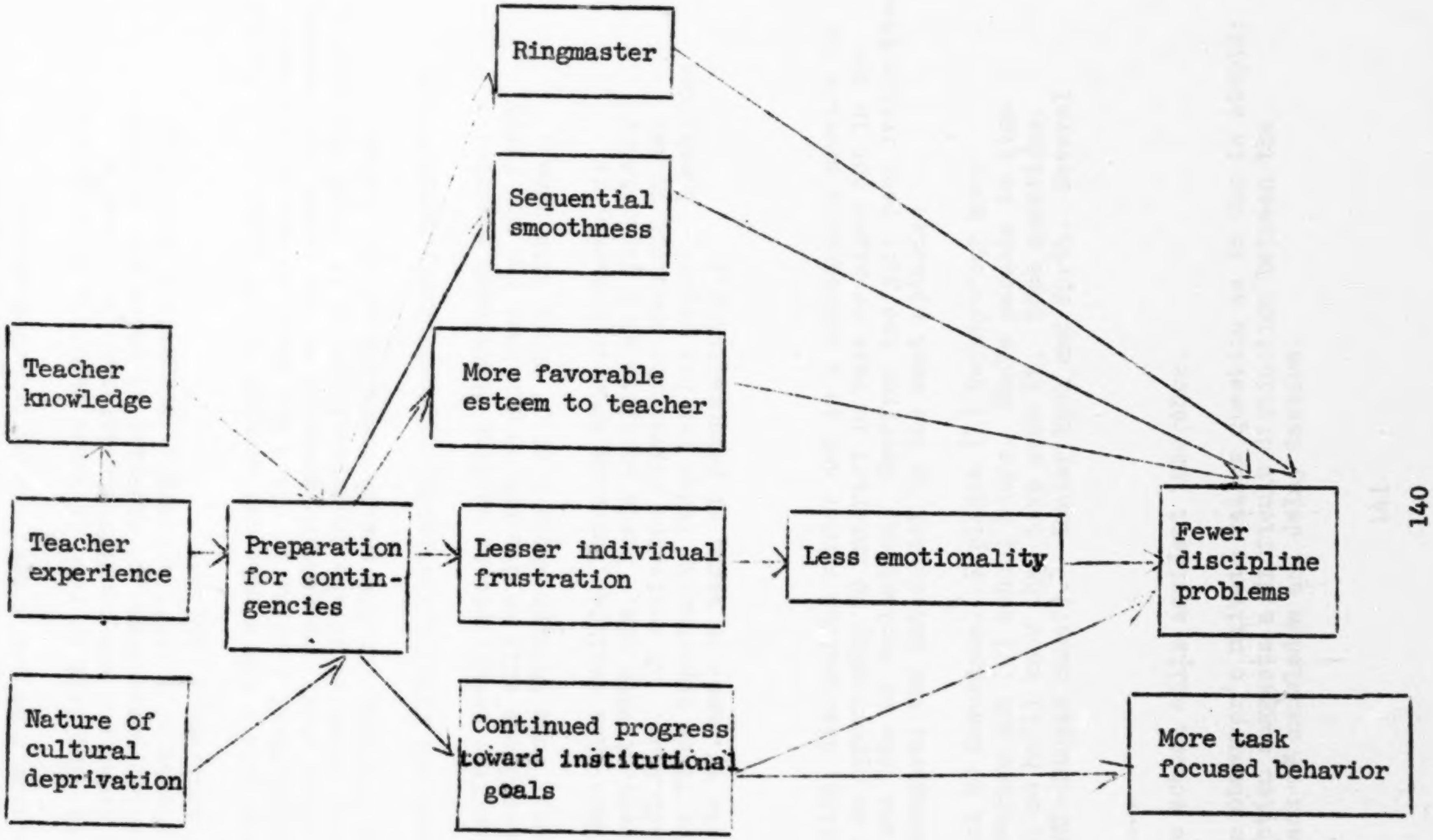
Ringmaster
Sequential smoothness
Teacher knowledge
More favorable esteem to teacher
Teacher experience
Preparation for contingencies
Lesser individual frustration
Less emotionality
Fewer discipline problems
Nature of cultural deprivation
Continued progress toward institutional goals
More task focused behavior

Figure 5.3. Hypotheses centering about the concept "preparation for contingencies."

9:13 "All right let's have some of you putting up answers on the board. Allison, Sam, let's just go down the row." Each goes up when the other has finished. Suggests to Allison to move to center board because some can't see. Keeps sequence moving.

(LMS--Implicit in both of these comments is elegance in order and non-conflicting interaction. Really problem prevention: no clowning at board and in later protests of I can't see type. Suggests a whole line of analyses.) (9/10)

While the points are simple and mundane in one sense, i.e. having continuing independent reading to which the children can return when they finish other study, sequencing movement to the board, and keeping all work easily visable, if the conceptualization is sound the implications are far-reaching for the smooth operation of the system.

We present one final illustration of contingency preparation:

10:37 Geoffrey interrupts to caution about book reports. Second one will be due before you have had the first one. Runs through whole list of those with none.

(LMS--This reminder, warning type of comment, is frequent with him. Needs analysis as a supervisory technique. It activates Oliver for instance to ask for first opportunity today for his report. Identifies kids by name--in terms of personalizing.)

Awareness

On occasion, discussions wander and as a consequence provide the teacher with an opportunity to interact in ways he might not in the formal give and take of recitation. Geoffrey has just been interrupted by three messengers; the notes pick up the next episode:

2:43 Back to insurance.[4] Explains (1) twenty-four hour coverage and (2) school hours. Wants parents to sign it; so he'll know they have seen it. Some questions. (LMS--Stupid ones?).[5] Banter back and forth. Several

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[4] The school sells accident insurance.

[5] The observer's naiveté raises question as to who is stupid; later interaction suggests a difficult distinction between the children's lack of knowledge and delay tactics.

> questions which seem to reflect lack of understanding of insurance (get your money back). Mostly illegitimate. Talk **in** banter fashion about every other seat boy-girl. Teases Edwin. . . . "In some cases, where boys want to sit next to girls--certain girls they won't." Geoffrey has difficulty restraining himself to just a grin. Allison has kind of an incredulous "How did he know about Edwin and Helen" look on her face.
>
> (LMS--All this is done in good humor--no real sense of threat on either side.) (9/10)

The notes contain a prior entry at 2:35: "Edwin teases Helen by tapping her on the head with a pencil." While we have no record that Geoffrey saw this, a number of similar interactions were occurring.[6] The point we wish to make centers on Geoffrey's awareness of the Edwin-Helen "romance" and his ability to introduce it casually in the flow of classroom interaction. The conceptual implications are sketched in Figure 5.4.

Insert Figure 5.4 about here

In some instances, awareness or alertness occurs when the children try, as pleasant mischievousness, to fool the teacher. Susan "is caught" in such an episode early in the semester:

> 9:53 Billy collects dental cards. "Make sure each student gives you a card." *Others start in on language lesson.* "Any I see talking I will assume you want some more work. All I can hear when you whisper is "Mr. Geoffrey I want some more work to do. Mr. Geoffrey I want some more work to do. . . . Need an alphabetizer." Many hands up. "Need someone who hasn't done it." Several hands go down, although Susan's does not. "Susan, you have done some alphabetizing." Finally picks Helen.
>
> (LMS - -Perhaps important: an illustration of Geoffrey's being on top of things.[7] Susan had responded with a sheepish grin (more grin than sheepish) and went about getting to work).

---

[6] This is another good illustration of the methodological issue surrounding the "Two Realities" and the implicit "Third reality." See discussion in the appendix.

[7] Later work may well indicate the importance of discriminating (1) simple awareness, (2) communication of that knowledge to the group, and (3) acting upon one and two, e.g. "being on top of things."

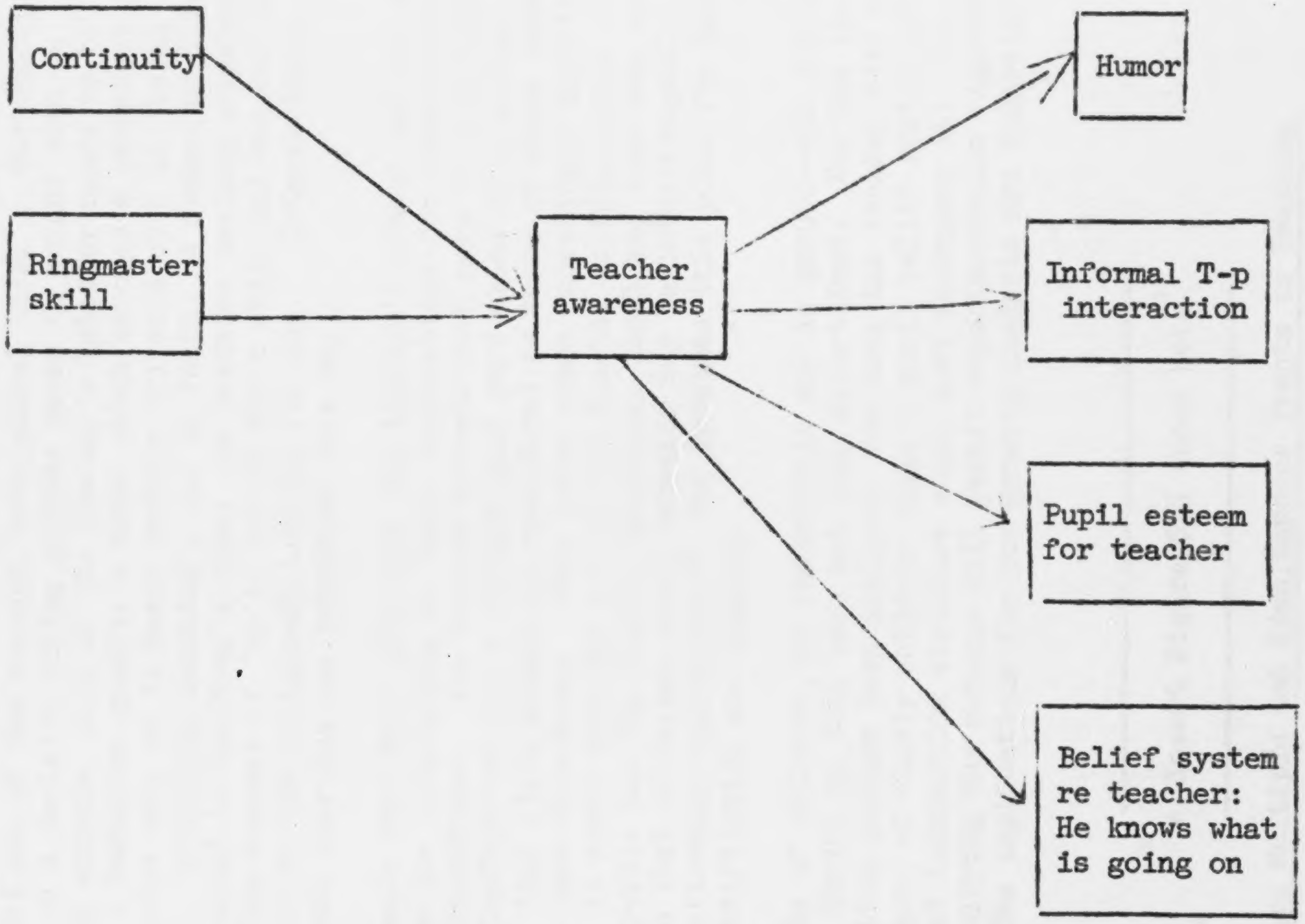
Continuity
Ringmaster skill
Teacher awareness
Humor
Informal T-p interaction
Pupil esteem for teacher
Belief system re teacher: He knows what is going on

Figure 5.4. Relationship of teacher awareness to pupil sentiments and beliefs as well as relationships to other aspects of teacher performance and teacher-pupil interaction.

The Provisional Try

Learning theorists, or at least one theorist (Hilgard 1956), makes extended use of the concept "provisional trial". Our conception of teaching as a decision making process seems to demand such an approach. In essence, much of the teacher's behavior needs to be analyzed as a tentative gambit, a trial which becomes a permanent part of the structure only as it meets certain criteria such as "being interesting", "promoting learning", and so forth. A number of illustrations occurred in Geoffrey's room; for instance seating arrangements were put in the context of "We'll try it for a while and see how it goes" and "You be the assignment monitor for now." Interestingly, little of the academic learning was construed this way.

The demands that this puts upon the teacher's schema and the group's belief system are interesting in their implications for considerable fluidity is introduced. The teacher becomes much more of a probing, tentative, flexible--to use a current good word--kind of a person. This demands that style always be considered in terms of short term as well as long term objectives. This point seems exceedingly important. Conceptually it means that any act of the teacher or interaction of the teacher and pupils has the double reference, short and long term goals. It means also that different overt behavior may be interchangeable, that is, functionally equivalent.[8] The problems this poses for measurement and quantification are immense.

The kinds of children, as individuals and as groups--who not only tolerate but thrive on this have not been ascertained. Nor has the more interesting problem been analyzed, how does the teacher with a random aggregate of thirty children shape a pupil belief system and the correlated interaction structure which must accompany it? Presumably, specifying the outcome will permit experimentation regarding the means. The implications for our general analysis are suggested in Figure 5.5.

Insert Figure 5.5 about here

The Ringmaster: Multiple and Simultaneous Events in Teaching

In our discussion of "continuity" we suggest that teaching might have varying amounts of interconnectedness with what has gone before and with what will arise in the future. A related dimension, we have

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[8] We borrow this concept from Merton (1957) and raise it in greater detail later in the chapter.

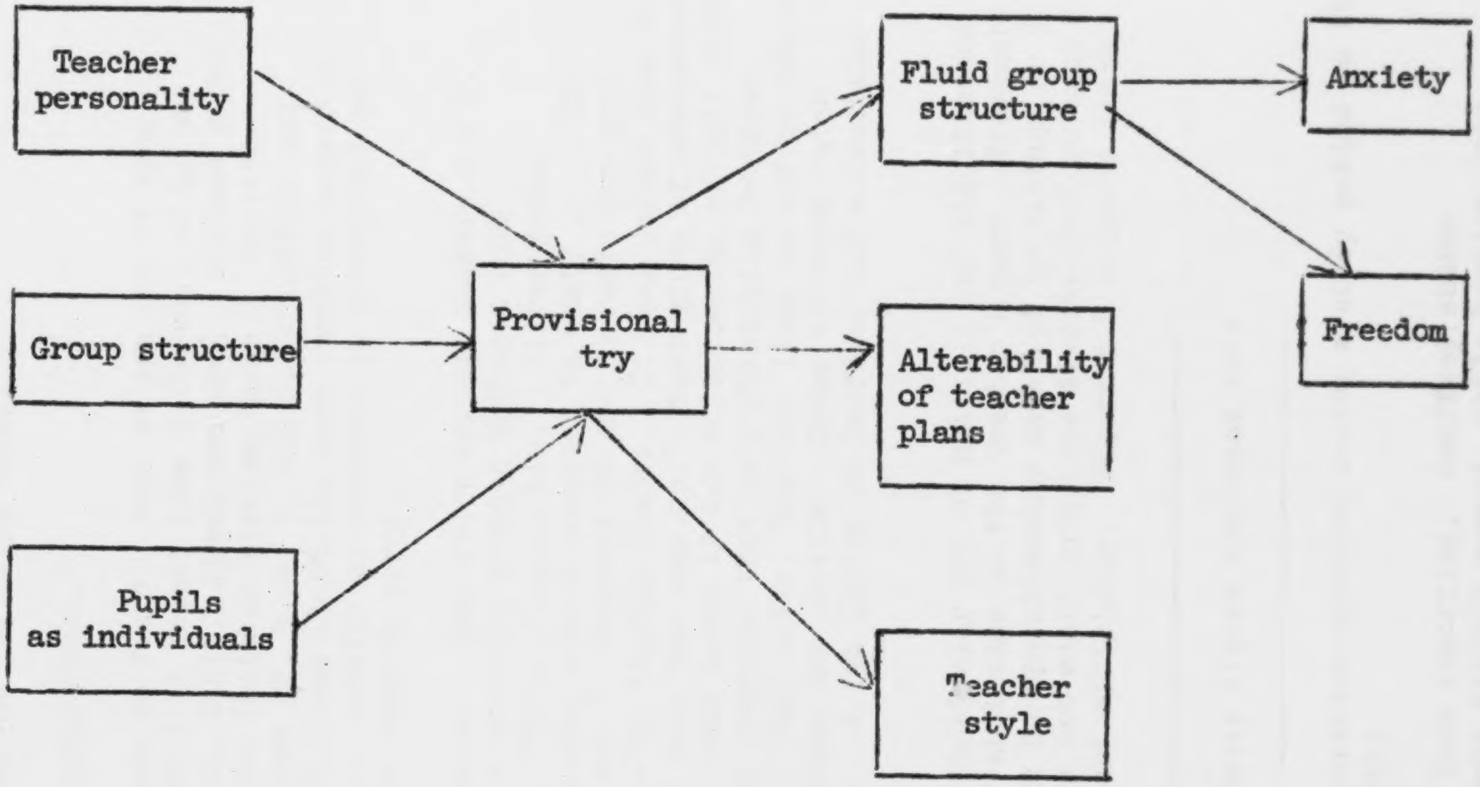
Teacher personality
Group structure
Pupils as individuals
Provisional try
Fluid group structure
Alterability of teacher plans
Teacher style
Anxiety
Freedom

Figure 5.5. Implications of provisional trial in classroom social system.

called the "ringmaster phenomenon." Our intent is to suggest that teaching contains multiple facets occurring simultaneously and that teachers may vary in their awareness and ability to handle these simultaneously occurring strands. In viewing what is ostensibly a language arts lesson, the observer made the following notes:

> 9:28 "Take out language books."
>
> "Have volunteers to board. When we run out of true volunteers then I'll select some volunteers of my own." (Billy, Allison, Edwin, Jimmie and Sam). Allison picks up Edwin's error (both on problem three.) Geoffrey restates problems #2, 3, 4, 5, and 6. Clarifies and they go on. He moves about the room checking papers of those in seats. Usually no comment; an occasional one where there has been an error.
>
> 9:34 Billy finishing up. They start through numbers 2 - 6. Oliver raised a question about a left-out word. Geoffrey says, "We'll forgive him." Oliver jokes. Geoffrey, "The only stupid question is what? . . . The one you don't ask." Finishes #6 and corrects Sam good: raises firmly--"No tipping chairs. If they wanted them that way they'd put only two legs on." Next group of sentences put on board. Asks Lonny if he's volunteering or just stretching. When he comments that he's stretching Geoffrey
> 9:40 goes on. While they write, Geoffrey lines up coffee table errands with Edwin and Lucille. Other children watch those at board. A few listen to Geoffrey and a few talk in pairs.

The nature of this particular set of multiple and simultaneous strands demands a set of abilities on the teacher's part. Presumably this set of abilities can be operationally measured by ratings or judgments and presumably this set would influence diverse factors such as classroom effectiveness and efficiency. Figure 5.6 suggests these relationships.

Insert Figure 5.6 about here

A less complex illustration occurred during a study period on the afternoon of September 10th:

> Everyone busy. Book reporting. Geoffrey shakes his head, "No" over Billy's report, while keeping eyes on the class. (9/10).

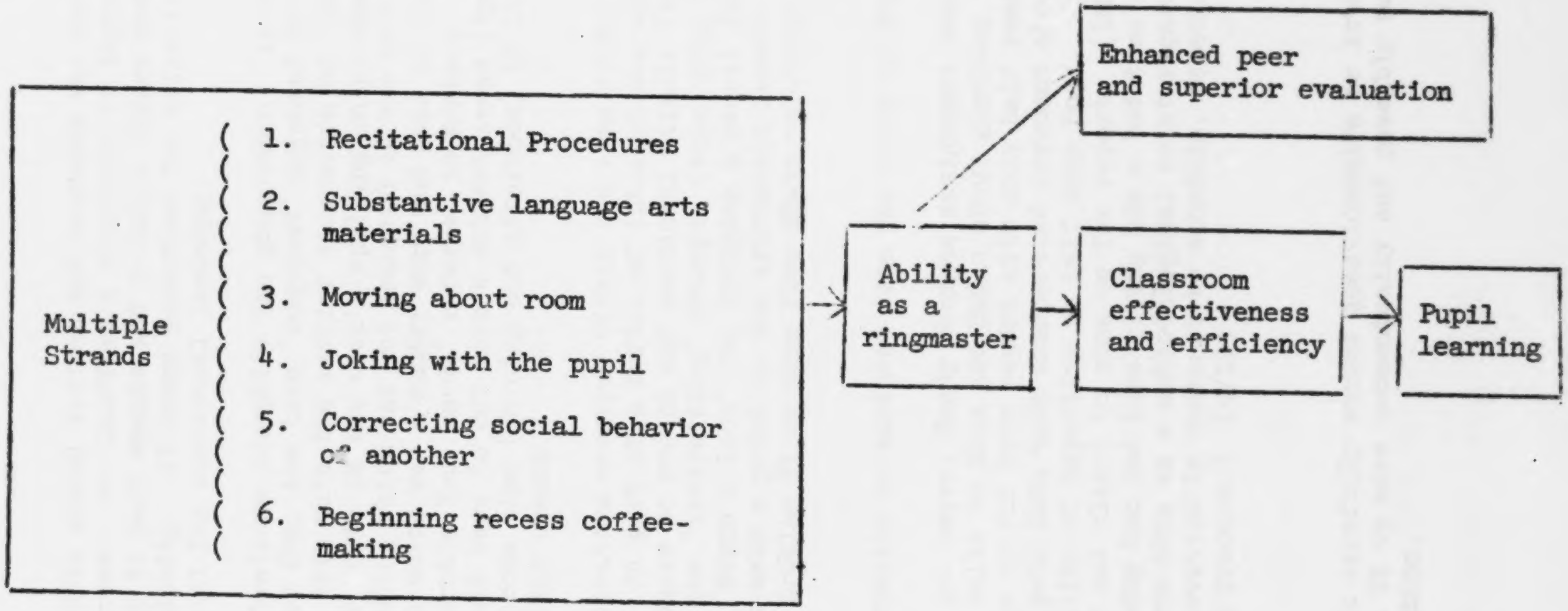
Multiple
Strands
1. Recitational Procedures
2. Substantive language arts materials
3. Moving about room
4. Joking with the pupil
5. Correcting social behavior of another
6. Beginning recess coffee-making
Ability as a ringmaster
Enhanced peer and superior evaluation
Classroom effectiveness and efficiency
Pupil learning

Figure 5.6. Clarification of "ringmaster" phenomenon.

Continuity

Continuity within social systems and learning has received stress in a number of sources. Mr. Geoffrey's classroom is impressive in this regard. References to past events and probable future events is the denotation of continuity. It seems essential for effectiveness in group functioning and for conceptual learning.

Several illustrations exemplify the phenomenon. In the afternoon of Friday, September 6th, the term "compound" appeared in arithmetic. The teacher linked this with the earlier discussion of "compound" words which was the major topic in the week's spelling unit, thus providing for an extension of meaning which had not occurred in the morning. None of the twenty spelling words was a number word and none of the prefixes or suffixes in "Learning Your Words" referred to numbers. An observational schedule would have to cut across subject areas (spelling and mathematics) and across time (morning and afternoon) if it were to properly attend to the events.[9]

A second illustration occurred within the same Friday afternoon arithmetic lesson. As part of a series of interactions which had moved from "banter" responses to social and emotional stimuli (the afternoon recess episode) to the "restraining" attempts (squelching Susan and Elma) Geoffrey had given "Edwin a look" for dropping a pencil just as he (Geoffrey) tried to make a point in the arithmetic lesson. Shortly thereafter as he raised problem #1 on page five Edwin volunteered and Geoffrey called upon him.

A final illustration is enclosed from the notes of September 10th:

> 1:55 Monitors get paper, Sandy changes assignment board. Geoffrey talks to Elma and Susan about giggling. Irma comes up for book report with only half read. . . . Geoffrey gets into mock exasperated argument about impossibility of reporting on half done book. Calls Sam (loud and clear) to come up for report. (LMS--Earlier this morning Sam had been giving him a bad time about this. Note this as a methodological point regarding free observation in contrast to schedule, especially regarding process.) (9/10)

---

[9] Actually a carefully worded questionnaire or interview schedule might pick it up more economically and possibly more validly than direct observation.

Perhaps the clearest episode of continuity occurred during a twenty-five minute arithmetic lesson as Geoffrey tried to teach the concept "approximate numbers". Sandy, among others, had been working and erring at the board on a series of textbook problems. She has been corrected by Lonny at Geoffrey's request, and now she is called upon again. The notes catch the flavor:

> Geoffrey comes right back to Sandy who has a real haughty glare about her, Cardinal, ordinal, odd, even, exact and approximate are reviewed and the class moves on to page ten "round numbers". Several children volunteer and non-volunteers are called upon. Sandy is one of the latter. "Sandy when we count 70, 80, 90 what are we counting by. . . 88 taken to tens is 90?"

The notes continue:

> Next item he goes to Susan and comes back to Sandy who now has the concept. (LMS--Beautifully done.) (9/9)

Shortly thereafter he goes into a briefer but similar routine with Allison.

Conceptually the points we would make depend upon the specific content of the continuity. In the case of the "compound words" the consequences should be in increased meaningful learning through what might be called "integrative reconciliation".[10] In the instance involving social behavior the phenomenon seems to involve a concrete instance of personal attention or "consideration".[11] We have included these hypotheses as Figure 5.7.

Insert Figure 5.7 about here

As we have indicated, continuity not only weaves an intellectual fabric it also has impact on the social webbing of the classroom. Early in the semester, Edwin became infatuated with Helen. On Thursday, the 12th of September, Geoffrey becomes involved at recess:

10:17 Bells. Girls up. Boys up.

---

10. See Ausubel (1963, p. 80).

11. See Stogdill and Coons (1957).

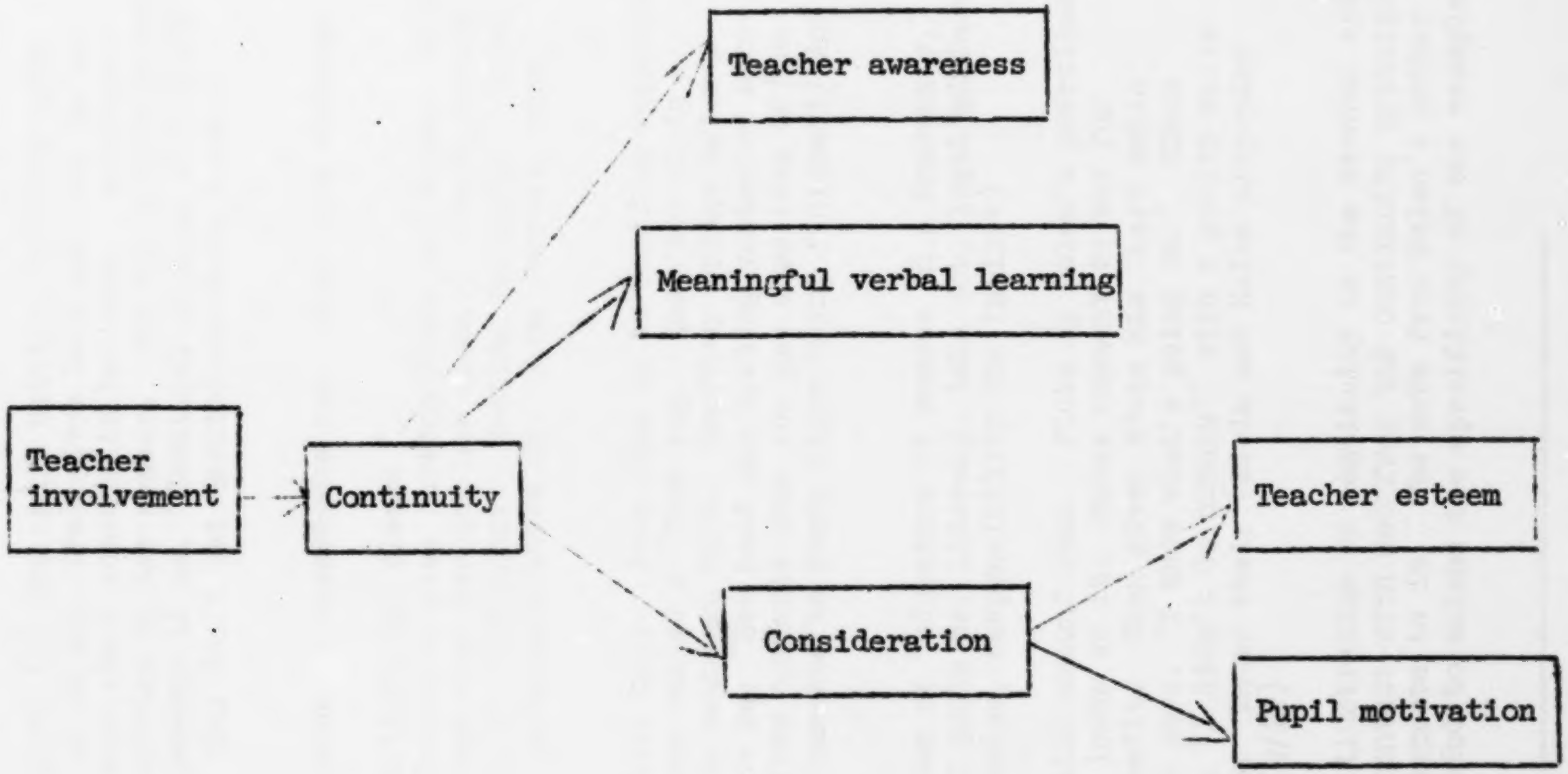
Teacher awareness
Meaningful verbal learning
Teacher involvement
Continuity
Teacher esteem
Consideration
Pupil motivation

Figure 5.7. Relationship of continuity to the social system.

Spent recess on duty in girls' yard.

Two principles: (1) one child hitting, Geoffrey asks other over as to why, then gives look and they go on. (2) Helen asks about someone in her desk. Apparently something written on her eraser. She has erased it now. Geoffrey comments to me, "Continual problem with dirty words. If they don't get excited about it I don't either."

10:40 Back from recess. Messengers out. Most kids working.

10:42 "Take out dictionaries please." (LMS--Continuous by-play between Edwin and Helen. He's having a tough time leaving her alone.) Starts lesson. Reviews uses of dictionary. Meaning yesterday. Today spelling. Molly puts words up. Some correct, some incorrect.

10:51 Everyone still busy. Pete goes up to Geoffrey regarding what Geoffrey called a "Book bug. You find it in a book." Pete saunters back. Geoffrey brings Helen's note to show me; "Her head was hurting yesterday morning." Geoffrey comments that you get some idea of the problem. Comments to Sandy about being finished? And talking.

(LMS--Problem of "education of masses in a democracy." What should goals be: literacy, take job, legal minimum on social behavior, responsibility for family?)

Geoffrey walks around room. Picks up Helen's oversized eraser and looks at it. Makes comment to her for Edwin's benefit. Then gives Edwin his "hard smile look" which says, "I know what's going on." Edwin verbalizes, "I didn't do nuthin'" with a guilty smile. Helen grins. Later their (Edwin and Helen's) by-play goes on. (9/12)

While the main illustration of continuity is the several episodes in Helen's and Edwin's contact with Geoffrey the continuity principle has playground and home aspects to it. The note from Helen's mother (Figure 5.8) is included to extend the specificity of our example.

Insert Figure 5.8 about here

Big City
9/11

Dear Sir

Helen James is my daughter. Helen wasn't feeling good the first of this week. Last night she started her first menistrel period. She didn't feel well this morning that's why she didn't attened school today. Helen's father and I have been seperated for sometime. I'm working. If Helen gets wild. See that I find out about it.

Thank You.

Mrs. Donora James
1834 Jackson

Un 47578 home
Ti 47290 Work.

Figure 5.8. Letter from Helen's mother.

Sequential Smoothness

Artistry has many components, one of which we've called "sequential smoothness." Conceptually it seems to be a dimension of activities and interaction, which is heavily under the control of the teacher. The class was engaged in dictionary work and the field notes provide the context:

> Eileen finishes four test lists. They work one in class. "Gross out those that spoil alphabetical order."
>
> 11:03 Messenger. (Send files on withdrawals.)
>
> All work on this. Including Pete. Oliver volunteers to go up. Sam up to correct. Humorously, "If I'd said some of you seventh graders didn't know the alphabet you'd hoot and holler. . . go to test 3. . . that's an 's'. Eileen gets carried away sometimes. That's a chubby 's'. . . ." Interaction over spelling and pronunciation of rally, severe, and power.
>
> Allison is writing new lists on the board. (LMS--Geoffrey neatly sequences exercises so that he's on top of situation and chore aspects move right along to be ready. Exercises taken from mimeo or printed set of lessons.) (9/9)

The next morning, another episode occurred which the observer noted and interpreted:

> 9:13 "All right let's have some of you putting up answers on the board. Allison, Sam, let's just go down the row." Each goes up when the other has finished. Suggests to Allison to move to center board because "some can't see." Keeps sequence moving.
>
> (LMS--Implicit in both of these comments is elegance in order and non-conflicting interaction. Really problem prevention: no clowning at board and in later protests of "I can't see type." Suggests a whole line of analysis.) (9/10)

In this instance the concept, sequential smoothness, is taken as a dimension of pupil interaction. Presumably there should be correlations between sequential smoothness of activities and sequential smoothness in interaction. Similarly one can seek relations within lessons and in transition between lessons.[12]

---

[12] Kounin (1965) has stressed the latter as an important correlate of pupil attention.

On Pacing

Early in the semester, (9/5), while Geoffrey is dictating the spelling the observer made an interpretive comment in the field notes:

> Pace continues to be easy in the sense that everyone hears (the words and examples) and has time to think and write his response. (9/5)

A day later this was expanded in the summary observations and interpretations:

> One of the first, most important generalizations to come out of the research to this point, concerns what might be called pacing. This concept should handle some of the difficulties in the static-dynamic controversy. By pacing, I mean essentially the speed with which new materials, new ideas, new positions were introduced by Geoffrey during the preceding day. One of the most striking features of yesterday's first day of class concerned the relaxed, easy, unhurried approach Geoffrey made in setting up the room. In one sense, all he accomplished yesterday was passing out the books and having the children write a one-page approximately twenty minute lesson in language. The lesson consisted of one page, really a short paragraph or two, on some experience of their summer. Geoffrey's main intent here was to have the pupils actually begin some academic work on the first day of school, and second, he used this as some kind of an indication of the quality of work the children would be capable of doing. His argument to me later was that this particular exercise was in effect a more valid test of achievement and aptitude than the typical achievement or aptitude test.
>
> As a concept, pacing has its "inside" and "outside"[13] aspects. The outside aspects are those open to the observer. At first approximation, they seemed to have to do with first the goals that the individual seems to be striving for, and second, the ease at which one is utilizing materials to arrive at the goals, third, aspects of the environment which form critical elements in the area between present location and the goals, fourth, the aspect of time.[14]

---

[13] Methodologically, this seems to be the first explicit reference to the inside-outside label in the methodology which later loomed large.

[14] Note also the conception of classroom processes which began early to differentiate itself.

> In yesterday's class these points seemed to be applied in the following manner:
>
> The major aims were to begin to structure the class to some semblance of order and into some semblance of a group, the means seemed to be the general activities of the getting of materials passed out, the rules of the classroom laid down; the aspects of the environment which seemed to be critical were the abilities of the pupils, their prior experiences, and very importantly the very undeterminant as yet aspects of the Washington School: such things as P.E. schedules, patrol boy assignments, and lunch room duties.[15] Apropo of the nature of the children I was struck by the inability of the children to handle a variety of simple instructions and also a variety of simple academic tasks. Such problems as spelling the teacher's name, spelling the word chalk, the word eraser, the word monitor, and so forth. Geoffrey presented these, in effect, as problems that had to be solved; and, in effect, taught several new concepts (e.g., superstition). He taught the children how to spell several of the words that were related to the monitor jobs such as chalk and eraser.
>
> Briefly, from the inside point of view, Geoffrey's rationalization or rationale, if one prefers, amounts to this: "Part of what I do depends upon how I feel personally. If I feel full of energy, I move much more rapidly. If I don't, I move much more slowly." The second aspect concerns his statement of earlier experience in which he tried to rush the children (and rush probably would be defined as moving them along faster than they might want to move by themselves). Moving more rapidly in his experience has often resulted in not getting very much farther in the long run, and at the same time, frustrating everyone, the children and himself, and creating, as a consequence, several emotional problems in the group.

At this point pacing seems conceptualized best as a ratio of amount of activity to time. In the example from the notes, activity is operationalized as number of spelling words dictated and time is operationalized as movement of hands on the clock. Variations in pace can be obtained from teacher to teacher and within one teacher from lesson to lesson. Such variations can be linked functionally with such concepts as (1) staff norms on appropriate and inappropriate pacing, (2) teacher satisfactions and dissatisfactions in getting "a day's work done", (3) with pupil sentiments related to a pace which is too fast, e.g., "I can't finish" or too slow, e.g., "I'm bored", and (4) with pupil learning, the ratio of stimuli presented to amount of reinforcement occuring. Finally we would make two general points: the concept is an appropriate one for an applied science in that it is one the teacher can manipulate and alter readily. Second, for teaching culturally deprived pupils, it would seem that "too fast" or "too slow" is a judgment made in relationship to pupil abilities. As these have significant limits the concept is very appropriate. Some of these tentative relations we have sketched in Figure 5.9: obviously all variables in the system could be interrelated.

---

[15] Some aspects of the program, especially those with special teachers as in Physical Education, became fixed and required planning around.

Insert Figure 5.9 about here

Teaching-in-motion

A truism one often hears about teaching centers on moving about the classroom rather than sitting at one's desk. The notes contain many comments that Geoffrey often circulated about the classroom:

> Geoffrey moves quietly around the room. Checking, suggesting, urging (several to slow down).
>
> Checks Oliver and indicates that on 3 of 12 are sentences. The rest are run-ons. (Oliver had raced through.)
>
> (LMS--The moving about the room has a number of psychological components, e.g., picking up Oliver at that point rather than later with exasperation, failure and frustration on Oliver's part; academic learning; signal that such behavior doesn't go--to him and to audience--Sam and Lonnie.)

The interconnections with prevention of problems, maintaining control, development of belief and normative systems, showing consideration and enhancing learning seem extremely important, belying the simplicity of the behavior itself.

Successive Approximation

In one form or another, educators and psychologists have long talked of the phenomenon of successive approximation, the gradual alteration of behavior, through minimal steps, toward a desired criterion.

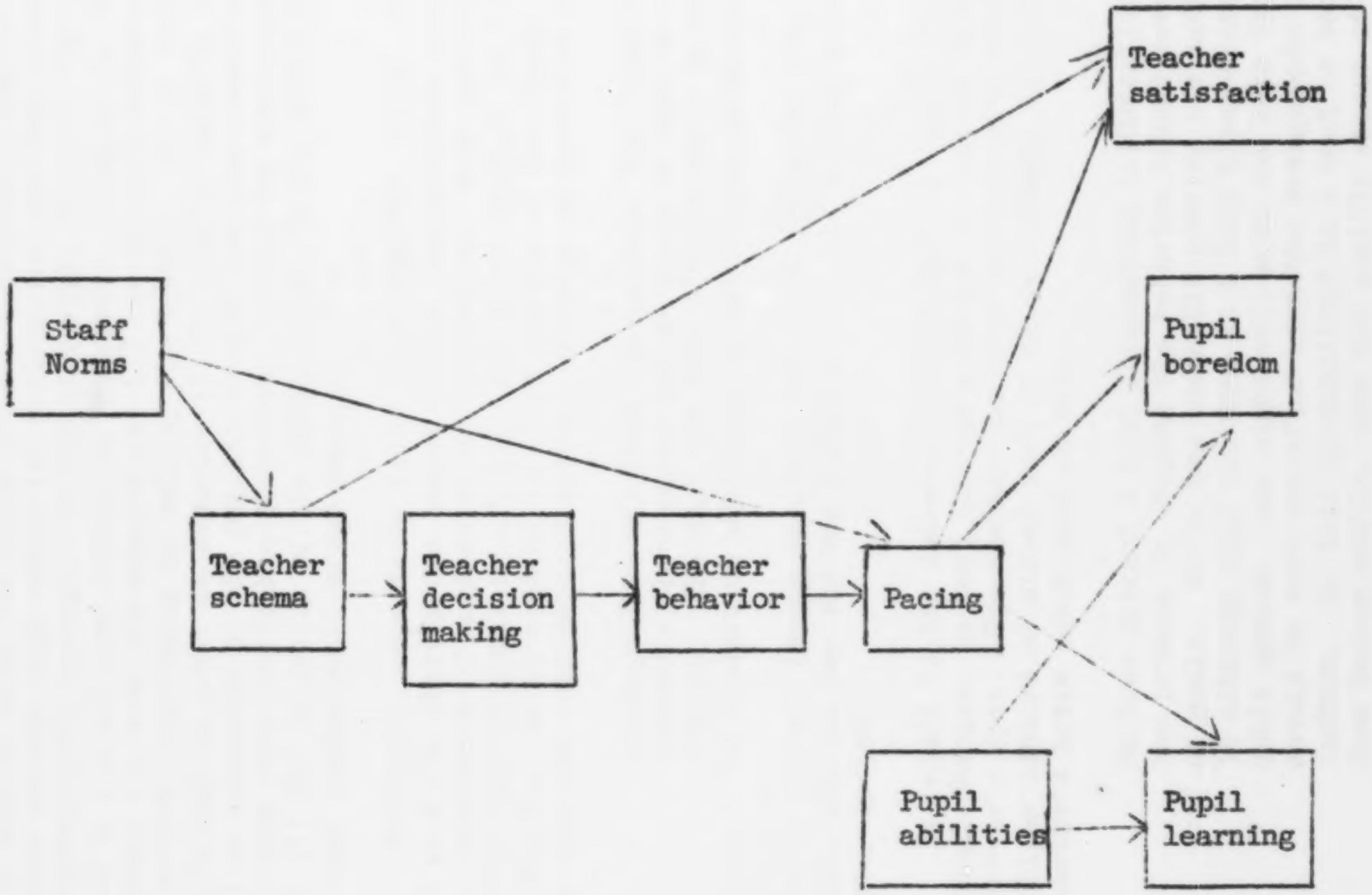
Staff Norms
Teacher schema
Teacher decision making
Teacher behavior
Pacing
Teacher satisfaction
Pupil boredom
Pupil abilities
Pupil learning

Figure 5.9. Some tentative relationships concerning pacing.

In a general sense the whole graded educational program from kindergarten through high school (or college and graduate school for some) illustrates the concept. In the classroom, however, the idea often is hard to see and even harder to implement. Integral to the general concept are such sub-aspects as: (1) the desired criterion (goal or objective) especially as held by the teacher, (2) an assumed logical or psychological order or sequence in the area of behavior under scrutiny, (3) an awareness of the pupils' current position regarding the sequence, (4) some just noticeable differences within the sequences, minimal steps, and (5) the relevance of the above points to the individual as well as to some composite or group mean.

Textbooks, especially those in arithmetic, tests, review exercises and so forth clarify one aspect of the institutional attempts to handle the phenomenon of successive approximation. More specifically in regard to the teacher-pupil interaction our notes capture the continuing problem of Joe K.. As we mention in other aspects of the report, Joseph is the boy with the self-imposed tattoos, the boy we described at one point:

> Although I've not seen him smoking, his fingers looked stained with nicotine and my guess is that he's a regular. The dirt and body odor in which he seems to be cloaked on most days is not at all pleasant. (10/21)

This is the boy (among several) who is on probation from the juvenile court, and the boy who was kicked out of his brother's house by his sister-in-law.

In regard to the successive approximation issue, especially around minimal changes, he went through a period of "really trying", in the observer's eyes. The teacher who then was busy with others with overt problems ignored or missed most of these attempts by Joseph. The observer's notes catch part of this:

> He does present a most interesting illustration of the problem in shaping the behavior toward several kinds of goals. He is now currently getting his assignments in although they are done in a very harem-scarem, lickity-split manner. One might well make the case that Geoffrey should be most satisfied with the assignments in this fashion. As this is stabilized in a week or two, if it does become stable, then the quality aspect of the assignments should be shifted more in line with what might be done. (In the sixth grade.) (10/21)

As we've raised the concept of successive approximation we've had reference to the gradual, over time, alteration of children's behavior to meet a standard. From the teacher's point of view the problem complicates itself in terms of the energy and resources which must be deployed. Early in the semester, Alton, Geoffrey and the observer were discussing bulletin boards and current events. Alton commented:

> "I'm giving up. These kids just don't read the newspapers. They aren't interested. I was just putting jokes, sports, and violence on the board. The only thing the kids would bring in was an occasional Dick Tracy comic." (9/10)

Geoffrey indicated that he had quit for much the same reason--he was doing all the work. He commented about one occasion in which he brought magazines such as "Better Homes and Gardens" which one of the girls called "wishing books" and related a game they sometimes played at home--wishing for the items in the pictures. Such illustrations as these indicate (1) the long and difficult job required to reach such affective goals as interest in intellectual matters, (3) the deep contrasts in home, school and the middle class community, and (3) the requisites for increasing the relevance of contemporary social studies.[16] The limited time and energy resources a teacher has indicates the difficult choices he faces.

In contrast, Geoffrey attacks the issues in approximating the spelling equilibrium with more success. On Monday morning, September 10th, the class has come in. The readers begin reading. The talkers begin chatting quietly. Mr. Geoffrey takes care of the usual morning chores. The field notes pick up his early attempts to shape spelling activities:

> 8:42 Everyone is busy.
> "First, take out your spelling."
> Messenger in.
> "All right, let's see your papers." Looks at and chats with ________ about hers. . . . "What about #3?" Moves down the aisles. Interacts non-verbally with everyone and verbally with about every other one. "#10 is not right."
> (LMS--Once again the teaching machine image occurs to me.)
> "Think. . . . The definition. . . . Where are your sentences?" (To Billy). . . "Definitions yesterday, sentences today. . . . Throughout, you're talking about as two words. . . like baseball." (To Edwin). . ."I like #14 (to Dick). Where's your's?" (with feeling to Pete). . . ."Who'd like to claim this?" Holds up an eraser, shrugs shoulders. "All right, I said the first lesson we would do together."
>
> (LMS--Note for process conception.)

---

[16] See our later discussion of African geography, current events, Nationalism in Africa, and school-wide integration problems.

8:48 On page 2 he starts quizzing regarding italicized word. Continues with the text exercise "Learning Your Words". Sections are due Wednesday (Learning Your Words), and Thursday (Using Your Words). Friday is the test. "All the assignments will be collected on Thursday." Has Edwin write the first one on the board. (LMS--Once again building clarity in routines.) "Remember that after this week you will do this on your own."

8:52 All begin work individually. Elma and Susan: an occasional comment. Pete kind of dawdles along. Geoffrey checks records--kids moving in and out, etc.. (9/10)

The lesson continues until 9:28 when language begins. In the meantime, Mr. Geoffrey has checked around the room looking at the paper of each individual child, has had illustrative sentences put on the board, has analyzed these orally with the class, and has clarified the assignment for the next day. In succeeding days the routines of spelling gradually have been mastered by the children. Implicitly, the burden of teaching particular words lies heavily in the program of the materials, a point to which we will return later.

Insert Figure 5.10 about here

Autonomy and Aloofness

In some situations, those outside the commonly accepted province of the teacher's role qua teacher, in which he needed help, Mr. Geoffrey would ask for help. He solicited volunteers rather than directed pupils. Usually one or more of the children would respond. Occasionally, no-one did. This then put the teacher in an interesting position--does he ask again, does he haggle, plead, beg, cajole, or order? How does he react emotionally--unhappy, angry, flustered?

> Billy and Edwin bring in a small table. . . . Tells Sandy to move assignment board sometime during the day--to accommodate the coffee table.[17] Looks for a

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[17] This refers to an interesting thread which was a part of the classroom fabric throughout the semester. Geoffrey, the observer, and a number of the teachers had coffee during recess in Geoffrey's room. The methodological appendix presents additional aspects of this.

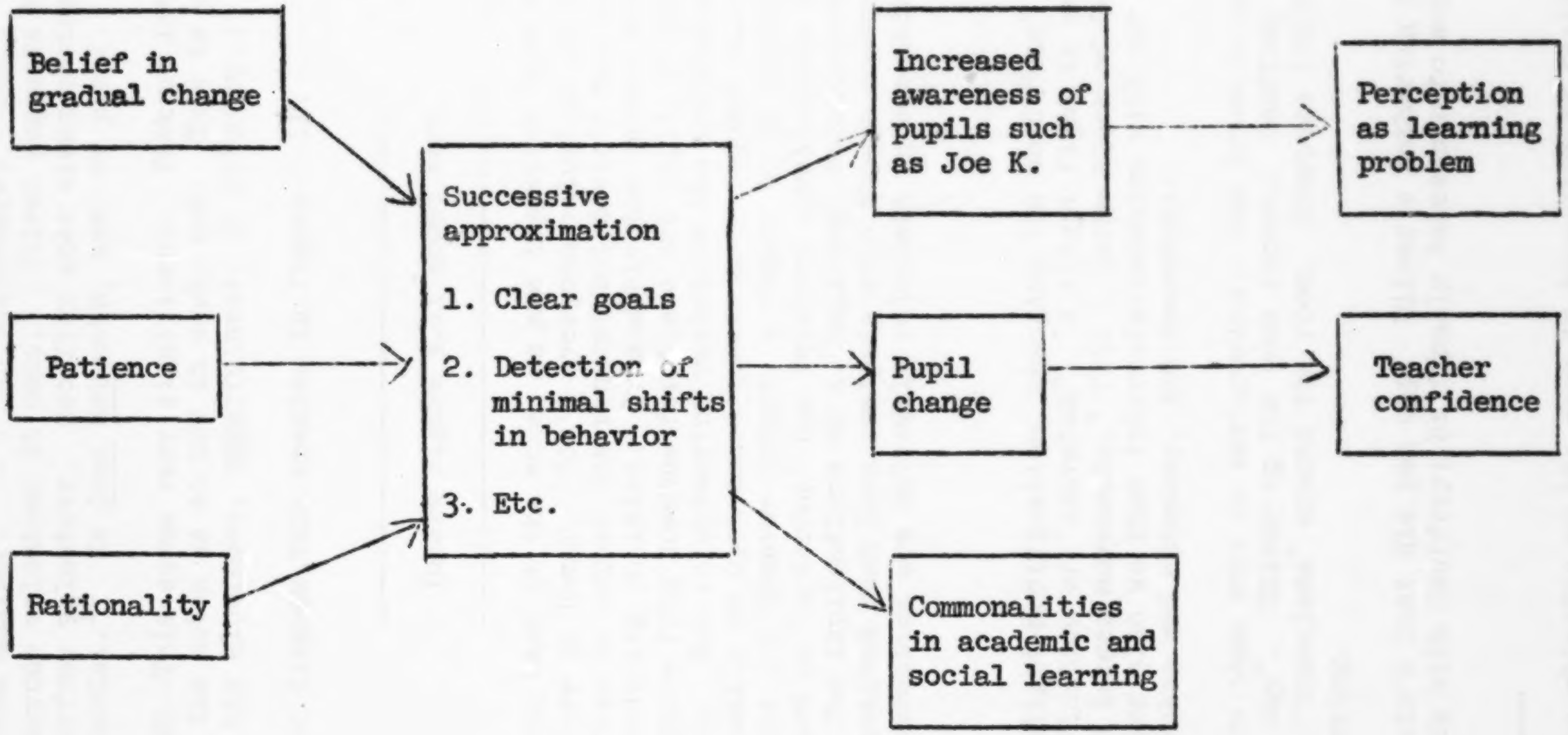
Belief in gradual change
Patience
Rationality
Successive approximation
1. Clear goals
2. Detection of minimal shifts in behavior
3. Etc.
Increased awareness of pupils such as Joe K.
Pupil change
Commonalities in academic and social learning
Perception as learning problem
Teacher confidence

Figure 5.10. The implications of successive approximation in the classroom social system.

> coffee monitor. . . . No volunteers. "Don't everyone volunteer at once." Oliver suggests Mr. Geoffrey volunteer. Geoffrey goes along moving material.[18] He does not push, ask, or plead.
>
> (LMS--This seems very significant. Pick up later in the notes as to how it works out. This is part of his aloofness, powerfulness, or autonomy.) (9/10)

We've tried to diagram this meaning in Figure 5.11.

Insert Figure 5.11 about here

As we look back at the notes we are impressed once again by the ambiguous nature of humor, "Don't everyone volunteer at once", as it enables Geoffrey to repeat his request but doesn't put him yet in the haggling or ordering position. Presumably the second attempt frequently brings a response from someone for there are implicit and explicit rewards in monitorship. Not volunteering restricts the individual pupil outcomes. Presumably an open-ended question or request allows these needs, however diverse and however potent, a chance to be satisfied. A social structure based on "ordering" has received considerable analysis in the literature. The implications of a "haggling" relationship upon the social system has received much less analysis even though teachers in their everyday conversation are extremely reluctant to see this as viable.

Skirmishing

With a slight modification, changing the word "war" to "game", Webster's definition of "skirmish", "A slight fight in war, usually incidental to larger movements." fits a large block of Geoffrey's behavior. Here also we find interrelationships with our concepts of ringmaster, aloofness and autonomy, and awareness:

11:33 Lets them work on assignments. Sam tries to get "rest of of day". Oliver up for book report. Geoffrey keeps eye on "travelers" around the room. Everyone (only 13 left) working.

11:38 Edwin's lost his pen cap. Oliver's bothering Sam. Irma's back with Geoffrey; he finally takes her to map.

---

[18] Straightening up the room in housekeeping fashion.

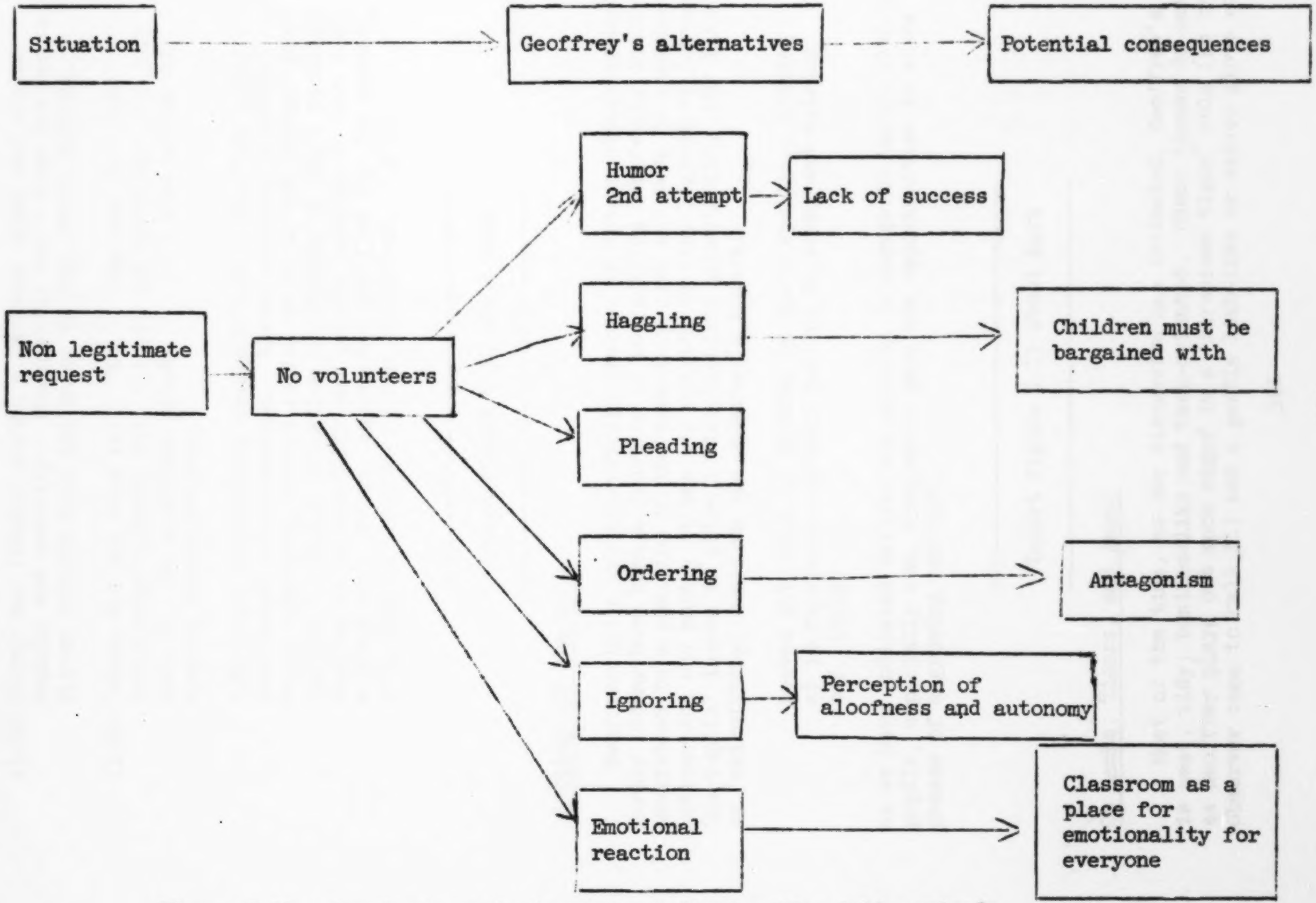
Situation
Geoffrey's alternatives
Potential consequences
Non legitimate request
No volunteers
Humor 2nd attempt
Lack of success
Haggling
Children must be bargained with
Pleading
Ordering
Antagonism
Ignoring
Perception of aloofness and autonomy
Emotional reaction
Classroom as a place for emotionality for everyone

Figure 5.11. Genotypic analysis of the initial coffee table episode.

11:42 Oliver has finally gotten a language paper and copies rapidly and artfully. Edwin still can't find his pen cap. Oliver returns book and paper to Sam, Edwin working.

11:44 "Edwin did you find it?" "No." "Who has it? Sam?" Interchange between Sam, Oliver, and Geoffrey. "I just want it. No questions asked. . . . I hope no-one is playing tricks in here."

(LMS--Real interesting approach here. Geoffrey never gets boxed into demanding. Always artfully probing, doing something, always acting as if he had things under control.) Leaves situation by picking up Sam's spelling, looking at it carefully and quietly putting it down and walking off. Edwin, apparently pacified for the moment, goes back to work, as do Sam and Oliver. (9/13)

Insert Figure 5.12 about here

Getting off the Hook

Geoffrey had a way of artfully leaving an interactional episode. Partly it may have been a function of not getting too deeply involved or committeed to a position in the momentary give and take of classroom interaction and partly it was his ability to find logical or "obvious-to-the-pupils" issues to attract his attention momentarily. Our illustration in "skirmishing" contains the observer's remark:

> Leaves situation by picking up Sam's spelling, looking at it carefully, quietly putting it down, and walking off. (9/13)

As we have indicated earlier his ability to engage in banter with several pupils, especially Sam, frequently gave him opportunities to elude final phases of a growing conflict.

Insert Figure 5.13 about here

On Lambs, Tigers, and Anger

Most of the time, as our discussion has intimated, Geoffrey's style is neat, tidy, businesslike and task-oriented. Minor themes do exist as Geoffrey plays out mock anger in a "ferocious tiger" role (as the observer came to call it) and a gentle lamb-like or velvet glove role

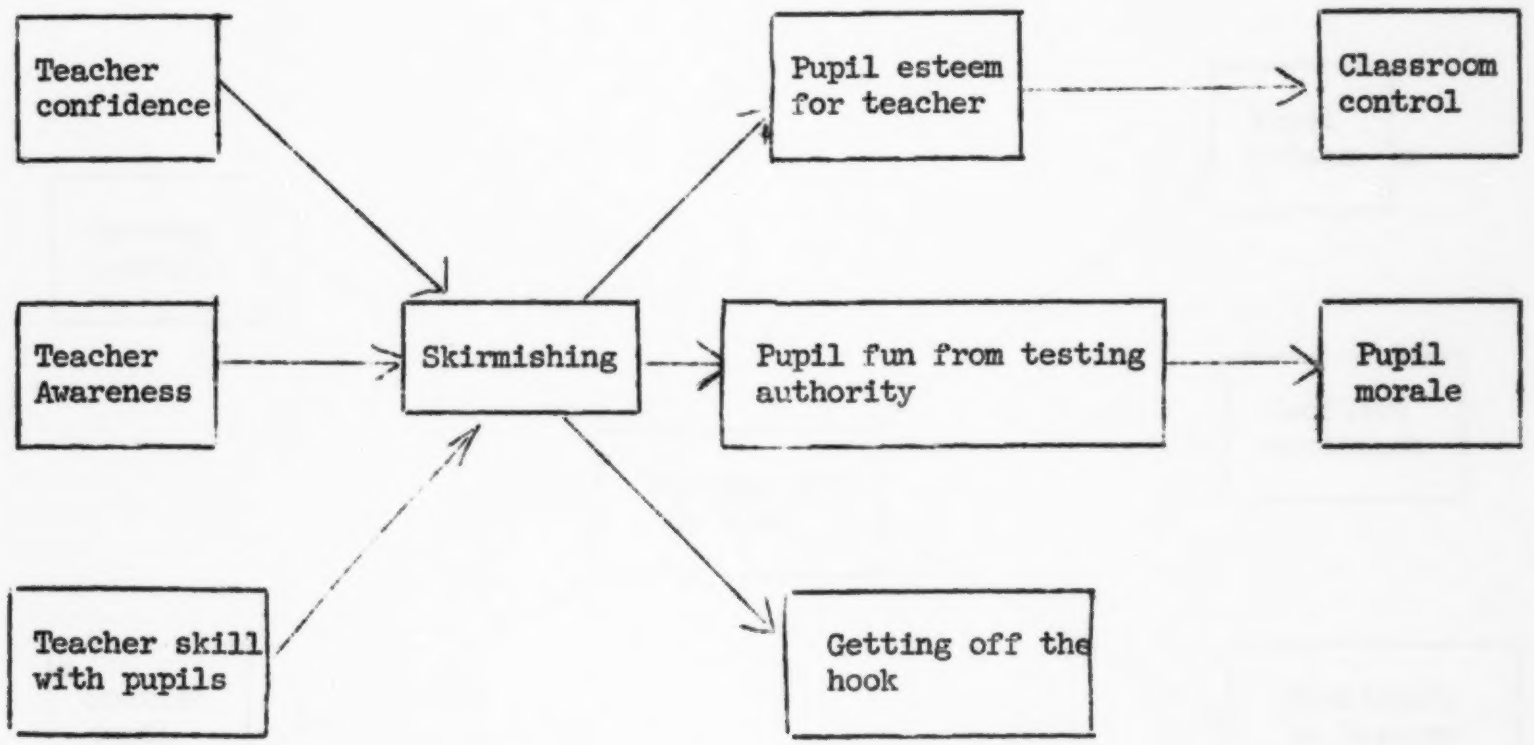
Teacher confidence
Teacher Awareness
Teacher skill with pupils
Skirmishing
Pupil esteem for teacher
Pupil fun from testing authority
Getting off the hook
Classroom control
Pupil morale

Figure 5.12. Skirmishing as a concept in teacher pupil interaction.

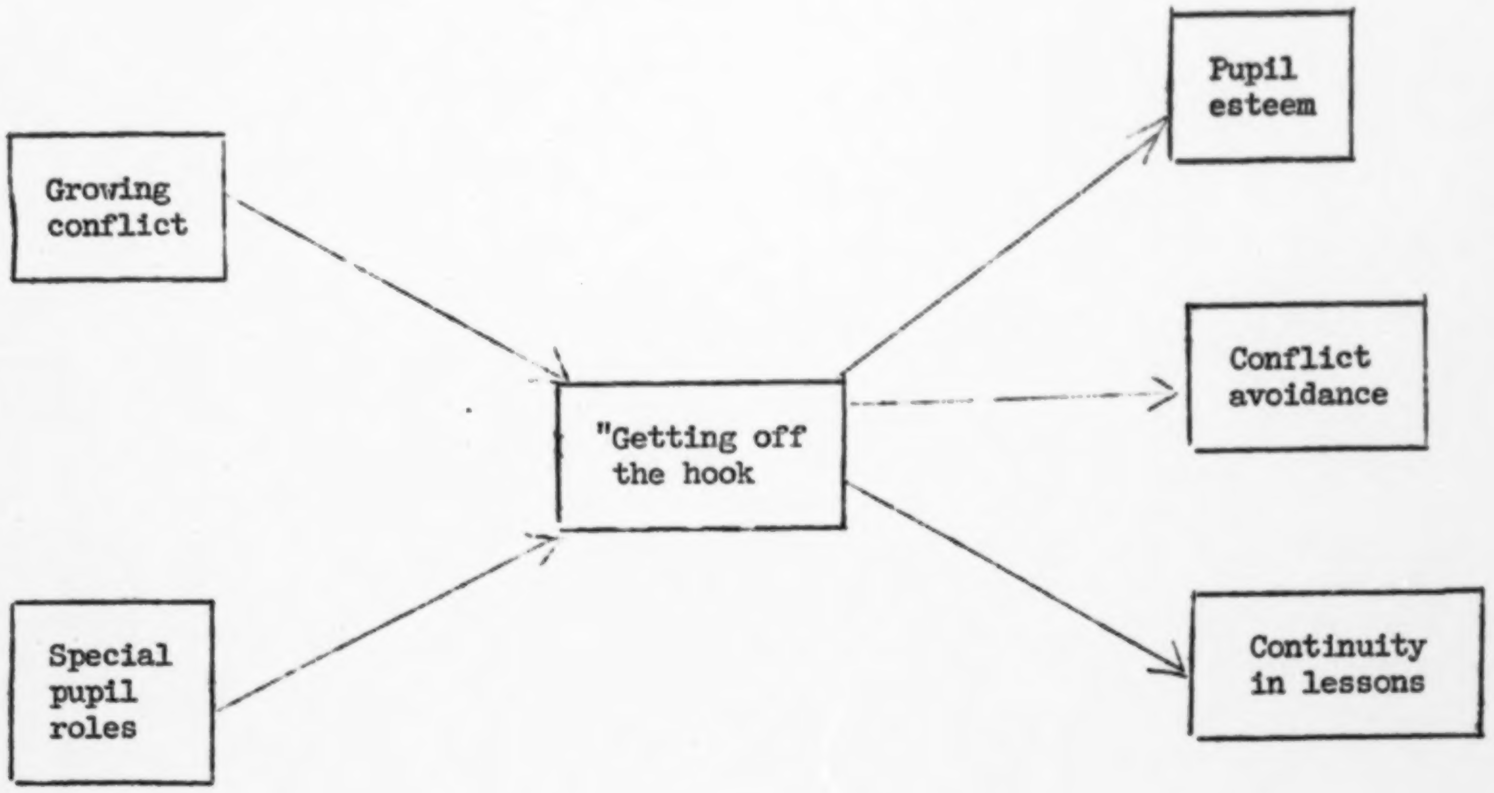
Growing conflict
Special pupil roles
"Getting off the hook
Pupil esteem
Conflict avoidance
Continuity in lessons

Figure 5.13. Hypotheses regarding the "Getting off the hook" phenomenon.

as well. Occasionally the mock aspect of the ferocious tiger evaporated and Geoffrey was seriously fierce.[19] The difficult analytical problem resides in pairing these variations with the situations occurring at the time. We present several illustrations first and later draw our tentative hypotheses. Early Friday morning, after a test Geoffrey turned to the new spelling words:

> Reads through list. Talks about pictures. Reads paragraph and asks that they read along silently with him. Reading deals with syllables. Raises questions about one syllable words. . .calls on Elma. Raises "everybody look" as procedural device. Accented vs. unaccented syllables. Goes down list of words; picks up accented and unaccented in each. Calls on kids around room. Everyone gets a turn. Edwin has trouble on "example". Geoffrey with grin has him say it and he corrects 2 to 3. Similarly on the accent Edwin says first, Geoffrey says ex'ample and Edwin corrects to second.
>
> (LMS--This was "lovely" in its fluidity. . .empathy, warmth. Edwin is a big tall 15 (?) year old repeater and Geoffrey usually the ferocious tiger; he handles him with a gentleness that characterizes a Lawrence Durrell type love affair.) (9/13)

In a similar vein, elementary teachers are urged frequently to be "patient". The meaning often is not clear. In one language arts episode we think we caught much of its operational meaning:

> Continues round the room. Billy has trouble with No. 4.. Geoffrey stops, and they work on it. Asks prompting question, etc. . . . . No. 12, "One of the men rose to his feet" Sandy in trouble. "What's the verb. . . ? Can you use 'his' in another sentence?" She suggests "rose". What rose? etc.. Works patiently (time, tender tone, simple questions). "Gives her a little help, Don!" Goes on. "Questions?" Comments to Alice about combing her hair. (9/12)

The precipitating events or situation for this role seemed to be an individual pupil who was having a difficult time with an academic learning problem which was embarrassing.

Insert Figure 5.14 about here

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[19] The frequency varied from seldom with the first group to frequently after the change in classes at the end of September.

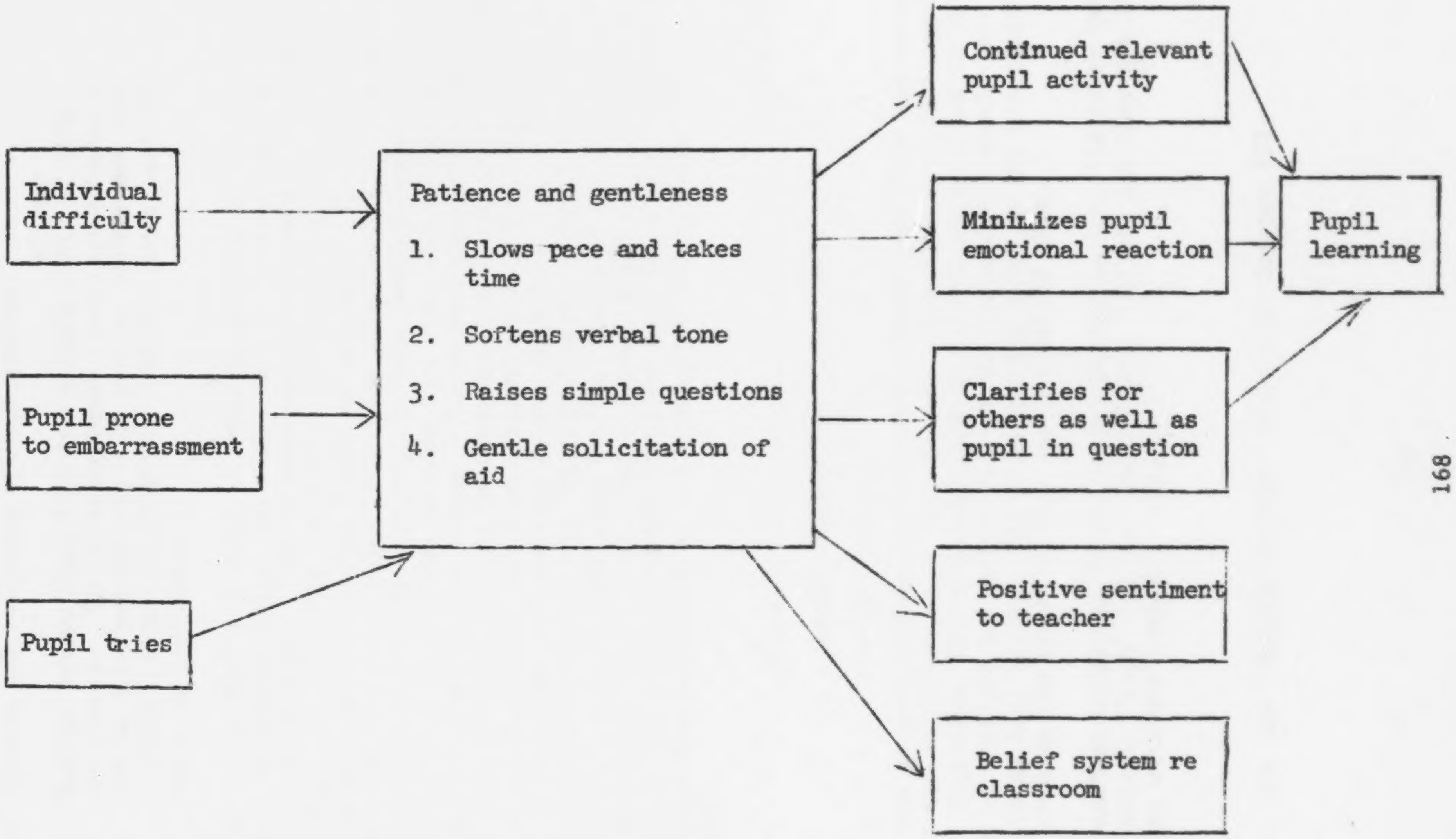
Individual difficulty
Pupil prone to embarrassment
Pupil tries
Patience and gentleness
1. Slows pace and takes time
2. Softens verbal tone
3. Raises simple questions
4. Gentle solicitation of aid
Continued relevant pupil activity
Minimizes pupil emotional reaction
Clarifies for others as well as pupil in question
Positive sentiment to teacher
Belief system re classroom
Pupil learning

Figure 5.14. Nature and implication of lamb-like patience and gentleness in teacher-pupil interaction.

During the first minutes of the first day of the room closing and change of classes the following episode occured:

> Quizzes Evelyn regarding her sisters--both of whom are absent. She is embarrassed (looks uncomfortable) and he lets her off the hook gently, warmly and with a smile. (LMS--Mr. Geoffrey does not probe hard when there is resistance.)

This illustrates very well a recurring pattern in the teacher's behavior. In glowing terms, one might call it "respecting the privacy of the individual pupil." Or in more analytical fashion one might argue the principle, if you probe too far or too deeply you put the child in a position of conflict, Should I tell or not tell? If forced into this position, the child loses either way--the teacher is unhappy if I don't answer or my friends--siblings in this instance--are unhappy if I do tell that they stayed home because they were tired, uninterested, or for whatever inexcusable reason. The second significant inference we would make is that this alerts everyone, the audience children and the child being quizzed, and ultimately the absent children that while privacy is respected, absenteeism is not desirable. Mr. Geoffrey's views accent two elements: (1) "Her embarrassment has given me the answer anyway", and (2) "The more I probe, the more the resistance." We sketch this in Figure 5.15. The critical aspect of the decision seems to center on the relative merits of alienating one of the children and making clear the importance of the issue, one which brings severe penalties.

Insert Figure 5.15 about here

In his ferocious tiger role, Geoffrey would pace back and forth in front of the class and would roar in mock anger like a wounded caged animal. Typically, the occasion would be a total group event in which a number of children had made errors in materials which should have been mastered long before. The illustration cited in the map episode[20] and his chiding the class through Sandy typifies this.

On another occasion, during an arithmetic lesson, the class had been relatively "high" through considerable "banter" and they ran into difficulty with the concept, "addends":

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[20] See the "Ability Problem" section of Chapter III.

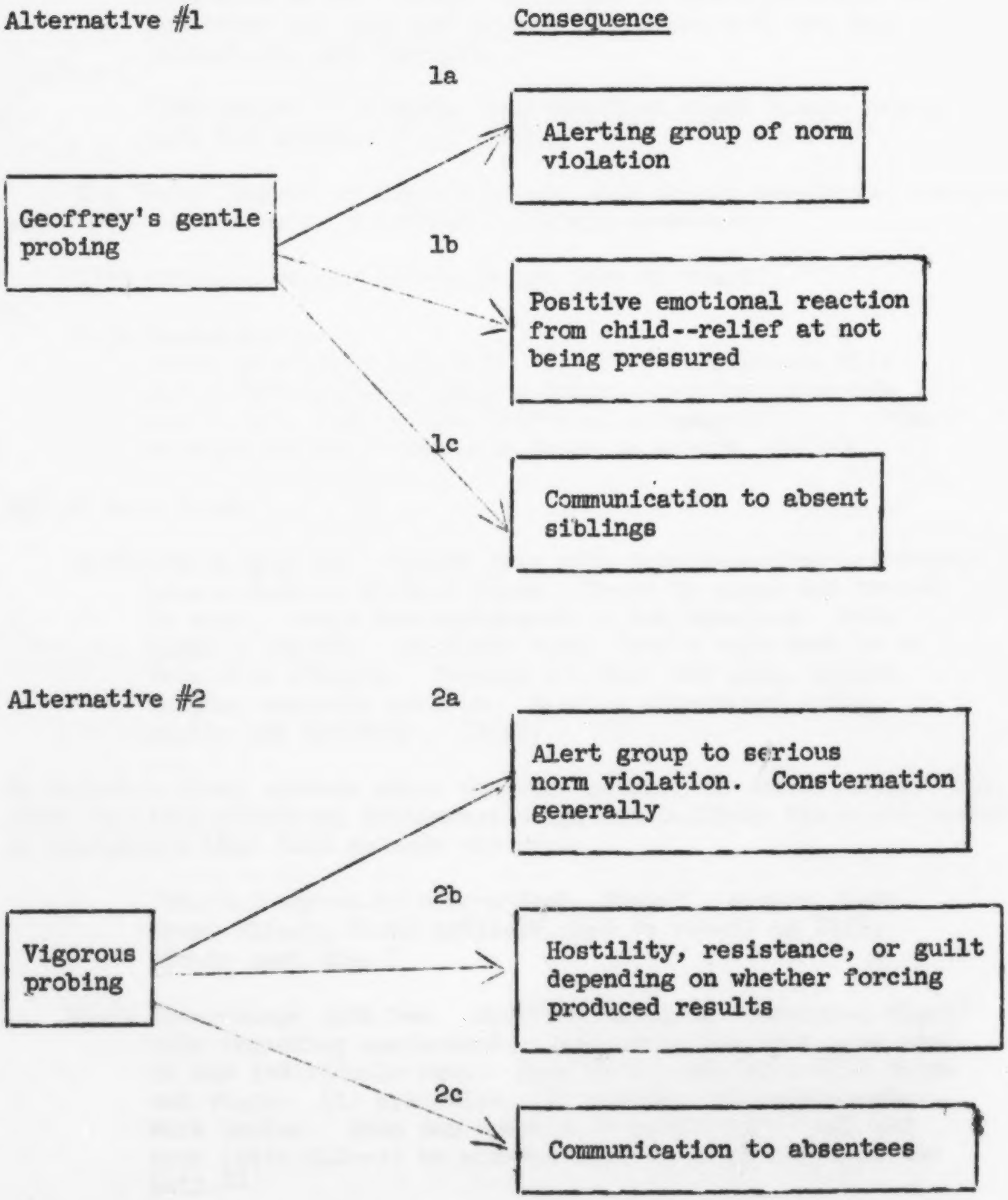
Alternative #1
Consequence
1a
Alerting group of norm violation
Geoffrey's gentle probing
1b
Positive emotional reaction from child--relief at not being pressured
1c
Communication to absent siblings
Alternative #2
2a
Alert group to serious norm violation. Consternation generally
2b
Vigorous probing
Hostility, resistance, or guilt depending on whether forcing produced results
2c
Communication to absentees

Figure 5.15. Elements in Geoffrey's decision regarding "privacy".

2:05 Interplay with Irma when she asks about checking. "I don't know what I'll do," he says.
Interchange over broken chalk, "What do I think of broken chalk?" from joke the other day. Banter is started. Works on "addends": reads sentence, "The addends may be grouped in any order. My God! What does addend mean!?!" Starts asking around the room. Gets most of it. Then, "Let's get it exactly, Sarah"--she sings out loud and clear: "When you add, its the numbers you add together."

(LMS--Geoffrey's style, the ferocious tiger blends neatly with his personality.) (9/12)

The "mock" aspect of anger does not show in his developing conflict with Pete, a role we've described in detail elsewhere:

1:53 Collects papers and sends ten kids to board.

1:56 Messenger in.
Chaos in getting to board. Geoffrey straightens this out. Pete comes up about a drink. Geoffrey lays him out. . . . "Not in the middle of a lesson!!! . ." Goes through problem. Corrects those in error. (9/12)

And an hour later:

2:50 Lesson goes on. Raises cain with Pete regarding arithmetic lesson done in history class. Tears up paper and throws it away. Tells him assignment is due tomorrow. Pete makes a comment. Geoffrey says, "Don't talk back to me." Pete sits finally. Through all this the page, squire, knight, sequence goes on. Reading alternated among pupils and Geoffrey. (9/12)

We report a final episode which contains several of our elements. The class has been reviewing dictionary usage and Geoffrey has moved toward an assignment when this episode occurs:

"Who'd I say could have a list, Edwin?" Several boys (Sam, Oliver, Dick) indicate that it should be Billy. "Edwin next time."

10:59 Interchange with Sam. Geoffrey takes on "ferocious tiger" role regarding assignment. Assignment has been gone over. He has individuals redo. Here he accents with loud voice and vigor: (1) syllables, (2) accent, (3) mark vowels. More banter. When Sam doesn't do much besides sit and grin (with Oliver) he motions for him to go out into the hall.[21]

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[21] As we've indicated this was a standard disciplinary technique at Washington School.

11:04 Numerous interactions, explanations, assistance, etc , by this time.

11:05 Everyone busy. Some (pupil-pupil) back and forth but all task relevant. Geoffrey back at task entering into calendar, etc.[22]

11:08 Geoffrey checks around.[23] Dick raises (to Geoffrey as he pauses) question on silent vowels. Geoffrey immediately to board with comment to class, "I told you I would mark silent vowels." He strikes these off.

comment
floral
proper
cosmetic
magnetic

intensive
family
disgrace
pastel
incriminate

11:12 Sam to Geoffrey, ". . .drink of water?" Geoffrey immediately says yes.

(LMS--Beautiful testing by Sam and response by Geoffrey . . . the "stop-go" behavior to run situation but no lasting spite, e.g., he could have refused Sam and as a consequence rubbed in his displeasure. Not so though.)[24]

Individualizing Instruction

Theory and practice in teaching accent individualization of instruction as an important element of instruction. In our experience the concept is used loosely--e.g. sometimes to contrast with traditional teaching, sometimes to suggest varieties of instructional materials, and sometimes to illustrate teacher-pupil interaction. Our purposes suggest the need for sharply defining these usages and arriving at more discriminated usage. To this end we propose the term "personalized interaction" to deal with a phenomenon which involves a minimal two-unit episode:

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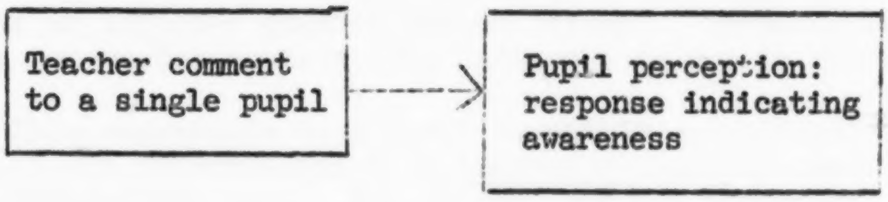
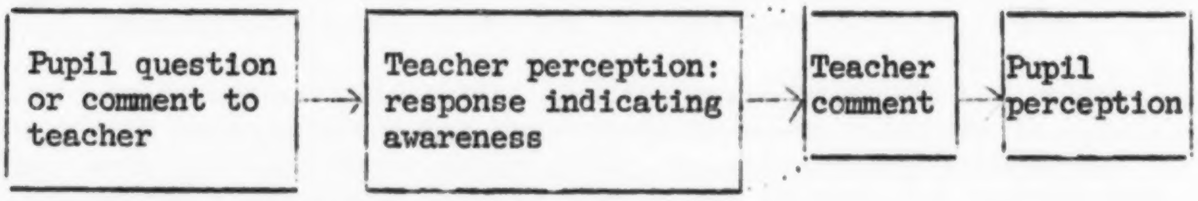
[22]. Although the observer missed it, this is probably when Geoffrey spoke to Sam in the hall and brought him back to the room.

[23]. This is the "teaching in motion" concept.

[24]. This is our point regarding bureaucratic authority.


Teacher comment to a single pupil
Pupil perception: response indicating awareness

On occasion more units may be involved:


Pupil question or comment to teacher
Teacher perception: response indicating awareness
Teacher comment
Pupil perception

Beyond the fact that the episode may vary from two to several units, another dimension seems important, the relative cognitive or affective components. For instance, early in September, the children have been told and discussion has occurred regarding the organizational format for book reports. The following affectively oriented personalized interaction occurs and a brief interpretation is made:

> 8:50 "Now when you've finished copying write these six things for your library book." Questions Irma regarding book left at home. "What do we do with library books?" "Bring them in the next day" (from Bill and one or two others). Geoffrey gives book from shelf to Irma. "This one is especially for you." Grins. (LMS--Once more the humor and personalizing of approach to the children; I don't have the feeling of benevolent autocrat, but interested adult. (9/6)

A few days later, September 10th, the observer was struck by the same phenomenon in a spelling lesson:

> Mr. Geoffrey starts around the class. He comments: "People, don't forget, an italicized word may go before or after." (LMS--A simple interaction count on an individual (teacher-pupil) basis would be astoundingly high. Already this morning he's been around the room twice.)[25] (9/10)

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[25] This refers to Geoffrey's recitational procedures.

Finally, on September 24th, the issue overwhelmed the observer and he made an informal quantification attempt. Personal interaction, verbal and non-verbal contact, was defined this way in the notes:

> This represents an attempt to obtain quantification of all interactions with individual pupils. Recitations, discipline, nods. Not so much who but amount of contact. Both Geoffrey's initiation and the child's initiation. Focus on who Geoffrey is attending to. A shift in his attention to another person and their perception of his attention defines the contact. (9/24)

While we would raise considerable question ourselves with the reliability of our coding, the seven-hundred-sixty-seven contacts in one morning, even granting appreciable error, is a startling phenomenon. Although teachers assuredly vary in the amount of personal interaction, yet the kind of personality structure which can tolerate--much less seek out such relationships--seems an important dimension. Perhaps this is some of the significance of the often-made statement: "You've got to like children, if you are to teach." The summary scores are in Figure 5.16.

Insert Figure 5.16 about here

In an earlier paper (Smith, 1965) reporting on some of the data, a more extended point was made concerning the concept of functional equivalents. One illustration of this conception involves the concept of individualized instruction.

When the observer first approached the classroom, he carried a host of the current dichotomies: traditional versus progressive teaching, textbooks versus units, class recitation versus individual work, and so forth. Fairly early in the semester he was struck by several recurring events: first, the teacher was a textbook teacher. By this he meant the bulk of the program focused on moving steadily and systematically through texts in spelling, language arts, arithmetic, and so forth. The notebooks are replete with statements describing the activity and interaction in dealing with the arithmetic problem on page five, then page six, then seven and so on. In spelling the weekly units consisted of definitions, use of the words in sentences, special exercises and so on. We can pin down concretely the activity of any day during the semester. But after having said that he was a textbook teacher, one misses the larger truth of the classroom if one doesn't say more. For instance, in regard to a second regularity, recitations varied from calling on pupils by moving through a simple up and down the rows, only volunteers, mostly non-volunteers, to calling on pupils who had looks of confusion. Occasionally this

				Reading			
Pupils	8:40-8:42	Rdg.: Small Gps. 8:40-9:00 Geoffrey mostly with 6's	9:01-9:06 Geoffrey in and out	7's 9:07	6's 9:23	Others back 9:28	9:32 Science
Thelma		13			9	1	7
Kent		1			6		8
Eileen		1		6		4	3
Ben		7			4		2
Sandy		8			8	1	18
Oliver	1		1	6			6
Rose						1	
Jimmie				5			3
Elma			2			Out of class	
Lonny		3					2
Irma							2
Dick		1		11	1	1	51
Molly		3			1	1	3
Davey						Out of class	
Peggy	1		1			Out of class	
Pete							1
Susan		6					3
Sam		3	1	19		1	37
Sarah		1	3	6			3
Edwin	3	3	1	10	1		6
Helen		2					3
Billy						1	11
Allison	1	11	1			2	18
Patty							1
Non Class Persons		2	2	2			2
Teachers	1						

Figure 5.16. An Informal Attempt at Quantification of Amount of "Personalized Interaction".

Figure 5.16 (continued)

	10:15-10:17 Recess	10:38 Language[26]	11:08 Assignment	11:16 History	11:55 Assignments Patrol Boys Out
Thelma		14	2	11 (out at 11:40)	
Kent.		14	2	5	
Eileen		11		7	
Ben		8		1	
Sandy		13	2	1 7	1
Oliver	3	4		7	2
Rose		4			
Jimmie		7		1	
Elma		Comes in 11:06		(11:30 lunch)	
Lonny	2	8	2		
Irma	1	13		5	
Dick		22		49	
Molly		3		11:27	
Davey		Absent			
Peggy		1 (comes 11:06)	3		1
Pete	1				
Susan		10		3 (11:30 lunch)	
Sam	2	9	1	13	1
Sarah		8	1	18	
Edwin		11	2	5	
Helen		6		1 (11:30 lunch)	
Billy		17		3 (11:30 lunch)	
Allison	Until 11:00	3	5	14	1
Patty		5	3		
Non Class Pupils				4	
Teachers					

[26] During language, some interactions of a few of the soft speaking girls in the corner were missed.

produced some high humor. As we have indicated early in the semester the teacher checked a spelling test by calling on pupil volunteers. He had turned down several volunteers with the comment, "You've already had one." When the group came to the word "tardy", Mr. Geoffrey called on Sam, an ambling, heavy-set, Jackie Cleason type boy. Sam immediately retorted, "Oh, I've already had one." Mr. Geoffrey then commented "I'm giving you this one special." Later when we went back to the notebooks we found that the next four pupils called upon also had received one earlier in the list. The humor introduced in the above illustration proved not to be atypical. The notes contain recurring episodes of "banter," a tete-a-tete interaction in which the teacher and one or more pupils exchange witty remarks. Third, the teacher's behavior involved a tremendous amount of "circulation," i.e. he was on his feet moving continuously from pupil to pupil.[27] This circulating behavior was punctuated with yes's, no's, nods, more vehement expostulations, questions as to sources of answers, and explanations of difficulties.

In summary, by calling the class a "textbook oriented class" one misses the more important point that the pupils are receiving considerable individual and personal help with their learning activities. Functionally, the class is equivalent to many aspects of programmed learning--carefully sequenced materials, active pupil responding and immediate reinforcement. Or, functionally, the class is equivalent to many more informal learning situations wherein humor, pupil volunteering, and individual attention are the keynotes.

This kind of argument--functional equivalents and inequivalents--suggests that we must settle some of the implications of varying levels of abstraction. When one says that two concrete and different procedures have something in common or two supposedly similar events are different we are engaging in the not so simple, but time honored process of conceptualizing. At its best this can move us in the direction of cumulative and more analytic tools which is the essence of any scientific inquiry. At its worst it can move us toward a cynical reductionism--all theories of teaching are "really" theories of psychology and as every psychologist "knows" all psychological theory is "really" physiological.[28]

As we have been saying, at one level, "many roads lead to Rome," the conception is a very simple truism. At another level of analysis, our theory in education makes distinctions which do not exist, or does not make distinctions when they do exist. This spills over in our research methodologies also. The current vogues in the analysis of teacher behavior seldom taps the interdependencies and functional equivalencies in homework assignments and textbook materials which may stress attainment

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27. We have reference to our "teaching-in-motion" concept introduced earlier.

28. Stephens' (1960) conception of spontaneous schooling has overtones of this.

of information while the teacher stresses intellectual skills or vice versa. The teacher may stress information and leave the skill development to carefully drawn homework questions, projects or text assignments. The concept provides an additional implication which suggests items to which the innovator who wishes to improve teaching and learning in slum schools or elsewhere might attend. Merton comments:

> As we have seen, once we abandon the gratuitous assumption of the functional indispensability of particular social structures, we immediately require some concept of functional alternatives, equivalents or substitutes. This focuses attention on the range of possible variation in the items which can, in the case under examination, subserve a functional requirement. It unfreezes the identity of the existent and the inevitable. (Merton, 1957, p. 52)

The unfreezing of the existent from the inevitable opens the discussion of a multitude of other ways, new means, and innovations which can accomplish present manifest ends as well as other latent and desirable objectives.

In summary, although we have not carefully analyzed aspects of the initiation of interaction, the positive or negative quality (from pupil and teacher point of view), and the more general context (e.g. a broad program of learning activities continuing), we propose in Figure 5.17 several hypotheses relating to the consequences of large amounts of personalized interaction.

Insert Figure 5.17 about here

Activities: The Structure of the Disciplines

Geoffrey's Schema

Earlier in the report we described in some detail Mr. Geoffrey's introduction of the class into the instructional areas. At this point we want to begin to work the concrete material into our developing conceptual framework as we look at the "3 R's" more analytically. Perhaps the easiest way is to cite Mr. Geoffrey's response to the general probe: What special joys, limitations, difficulties and "whatever" exist in teaching reading, language arts, arithmetic, history and geography? From this we can then move analytically and synthetically.

> Let's lump reading and language arts together, as reading falls in there, and state that this is the most difficult area to teach effectively. The complexity of language arts is such that it is difficult

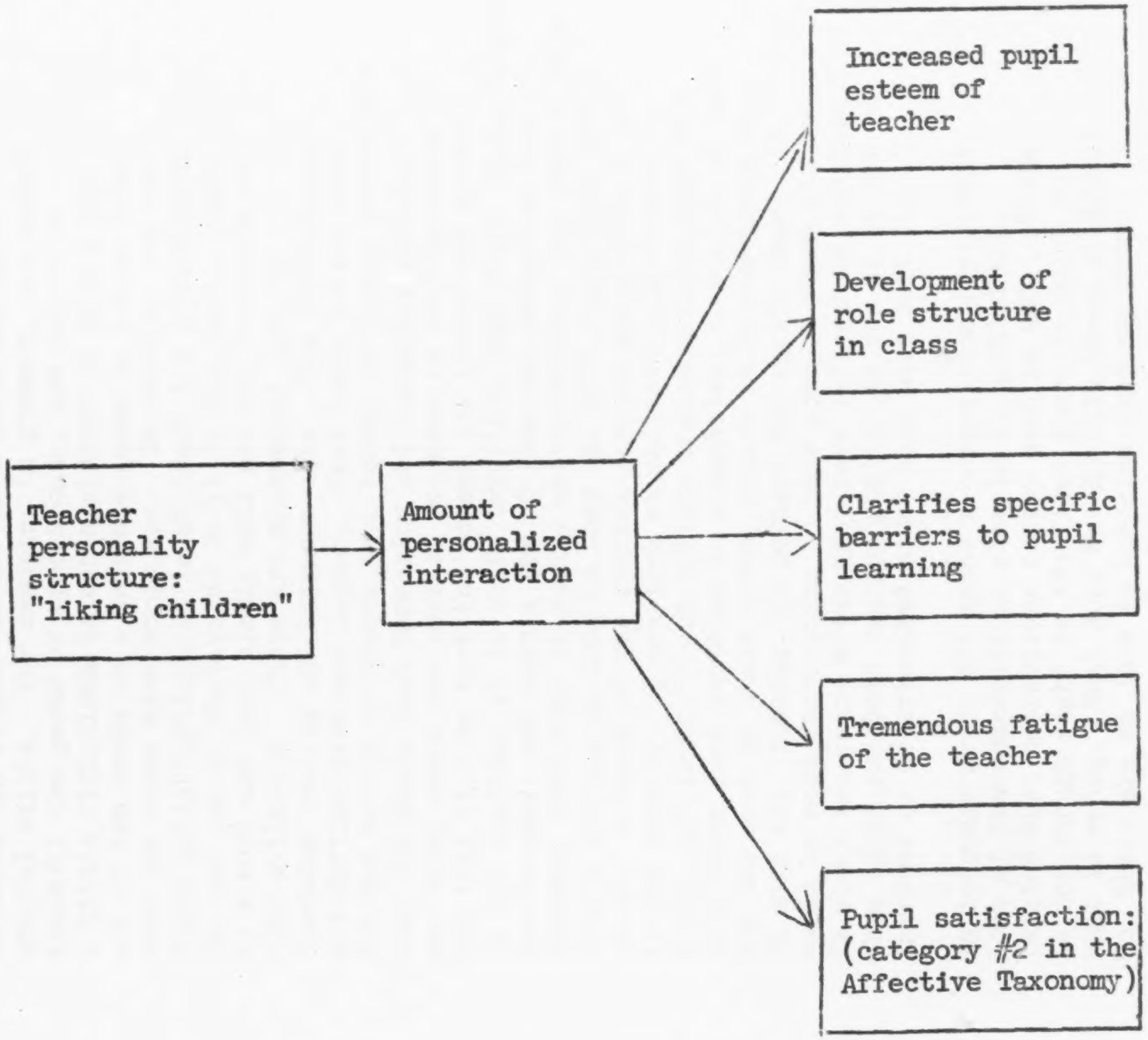
Teacher personality structure: "liking children"
Amount of personalized interaction
Increased pupil esteem of teacher
Development of role structure in class
Clarifies specific barriers to pupil learning
Tremendous fatigue of the teacher
Pupil satisfaction: (category #2 in the Affective Taxonomy)

Figure 5.17. Implications of personalized interaction.

to break the subject matter into parts and teach special skills. For example, in grammar, one cannot teach all the parts of speech once, and yet it is a little ridiculous to ask a student to pick a noun out of ten words in a sentence, when he has no idea what the other nine words are. In reading, one can teach syllabication, at least teach the mechanics of it, and yet of what value is it if the reader comes to a word and just simply will not try to divide it into syllables. There are no special jobs in teaching reading and language arts. The limitations and difficulties are legion. Text books do not help. The bad habits of speech have become so firmly entrenched over the years that hammering and hammering perhaps may bring about the correct response in the classroom, but this will be lost the moment one leaves the school. As for reading, it is quite important that these students learn how to read, and even a lot of them can recognize this. However, what does it really matter whether they know a noun from a pronoun as long as they can make themselves understood. I think of the special reading group that I had in the morning. I can look at children like Lorene, Wendy and Kevin,[29] and believe wholeheartedly that they will never read anything in a magazine, newspaper or book for the rest of their lives, unless it be something to do with ads, funnies, or perhaps the sports page. It would be most fascinating to have some of these students in about ten years after they have left school and test them again on their reading ability to see if it has improved or deteriorated since they have left school.

In language arts, one makes a composition assignment. Some of the compositions come in so garbled and twisted that corrections cannot even be made. There is not enough right in the first place to point out what is wrong. What does one do with these studehts? No, there are no joys in teaching language arts.

Arithmetic is a great joy, when comparing it to the previous. At least arithmetic cannot be bastardized. 2 plus 2 equals 4 in our school, at the corner of Great Boulevard and York, or in Appalacia. We all use the same numbers and the same processes. We all start out with the simple and proceed to the difficult. When one teaches addition, he need not be worried about what to do with subtraction, multiplication, division, or how to shove those out of the students' sight until he is ready for them. 2 plus 2 is 4 and no other complexities need enter in at that point. This, of course, cannot be done in the language arts. Thus in arithmetic you have a more orderly structure, which can be arranged in an hierarchy of difficulty, on which some evaluation of student's progress is possible. It is difficult to judge in language which is better, a student who knows what a noun is but not a pronoun, or a student who knows what a verb is but not an adverb. In fact, it is difficult to imagine the student really knowing what a noun is if he doesn't know what a pronoun is, and vice-versa.

---

[29] These are children from Norton's room whom Geoffrey taught as part of the homogeneous grouping through trading of pupils. They are extremely dull and probably should be in special classes for the retarded.

In arithmetic, however, addition as a process can stand by itself and that is that. It is easy to abstract for instruction, the presentation of examples presents no problems, and always we can return to more simple strata of questioning if the student cannot achieve at the point where we are. The limitations and difficulties are those mainly prescribed by time and how much these students have been taught before. Of course, there are other limitations of general intelligence. However, I believe that the effects of environment, cultural, will have much, much less emphasis or effect upon arithmetic as opposed to language arts.

Let us lump history and geography together in the sense that they are social studies and so regarded elsewhere. The great difficulty here is that the text books which are used for these subjects are written at a reading level too high for most of the students in the grades. In addition, in this school these subjects speak to things even far more removed from the interests or experiences of the students than they would be in other socio-economic groups. While I have no evidence to back this up, I feel that middle class homes really provide many opportunities for reference to history and social studies, or rather geography, where the lower class homes will have little use for the subjects. Middle class homes are closer to the political and economic factors in our life, and thus their expression is found more and the child is more exposed to a part of these factors. However, it seems that there might be little in the lower class home to link the student with our heritage nationally in history, or grandeur, and in

> relationship to the world geographically and whatever you will have economically. In teaching these subjects, I feel that there is no great fight against them in the home. On the other hand, in our school, there is nothing positive in relation to them either. One can teach arithmetic, because it is used. One has difficulty in reading and language arts because these skills are unimportant in the homes. History and geography, however, seem to have no relevance at all. They may seem dull to a great many students, and indeed, the way they are presented, I can well understand this. But there is nothing either particularly for or against their place in the curriculum. I feel a great deal of frustration in teaching them because I cannot make the real concepts a part of my students.

As we see the pupils' behavior in relationship to the curricular areas we can maintain our consistency of language by speaking of activities--transactions of the group with the physical environment. Second, we can see Mr. Geoffrey's initial categories of activities which follow basic public school distinctions--language arts which includes reading, grammar, and composition but not in this statement, spelling. Arithmetic is well differentiated from the others. Geography and history are social studies. As he talks about teaching these categories of activities a latent set of activity dimensions arises. These include:

(1) the ease into which the whole can be broken into teachable parts

(2) the probability that the children will engage in the activity elsewhere out of class

(3) the continuum of development from immature (amateur) to mature (professional) performance

(4) the commonality of usage in all parts of the culture

(5) a readily visable hierarchy of difficulty

(6) the degree to which ancillary skills (reading) is demanded

(7) the degree to which one's day-to-day experience is relevant

This analysis suggests that the activity concept has several potentially fruitful sub-dimensions. As an illustration we see the need for research testing the relationships between activities varying in number of teachable parts and (1) frustration experienced by teachers and pupils, (2) learning by pupils, (3) interaction of teachers and pupils and the myriad of other group and individual variables we have isolated. Within the context of our decision making model, we can speculate on the invention of ways in which other curricularly defined areas, science, art, health and language arts itself can be analyzed into less interdependent or more teachable parts. If relationships between this kind of "part-whole" phenomenon and frustration and learning are verified then the teacher has within her conceptual armamentarium a very strong tool.

The probability of the activity occurring elsewhere in the environment leads us into aspects of the "What should the schools teach?" problem. This discussion we'll hold for another section.

Mr. Geoffrey's point about the "garbled and twisted" compositions which defy correction suggests that considerable renewed effort is required on the "natural" course of development of skills as well as their development in special school environments. If our analysis is well taken, there are implications for teacher training in that upper elementary grade teachers must know something of nature of primitive or primary skills and techniques for working with activities at that stage of maturity.

The readily visable hierarchy of difficulty as Mr. Geoffrey uses it suggests an interlocking with teacher interventions. Is there clarity in the options open for questions--i.e. the line of retreat when the pupil cannot handle the material?

The degree to which day-to-day experience is relevant suggests the wisdom of a "meaningfulness" concept. If history and geography suffer from this condition of low meaningfulness and if conceptual learning is highly dependent on this then one is faced with the proverbial difficult situation. Hypothetically however, several alternatives are available. First, a good bit of the history dealt with origins of European cities, the developing reasons for colonists emigrating and the problems of the colonial period in America. Each of these issues has parallels in contemporary America and each has parallels in the Washington School as a community within a community in flux. To raise the ubiquitous problems of authority, civil rights, interpersonal relationships, and so forth would have violated the norms of the faculty, would have opened many issues to questions, and would have instigated potentially a self examination which might have well become a Pandora's box.

The Stated Schedule

In our discussion of the early structure in Chapter Two we indicated the demands set forth by the organization and we indicated the program which resulted from this. After the closing of a room Geoffrey's activities structure was altered. The schedule which was posted on the board for the pupils' benefit is reproduced in Figure 5.18.

Insert Figure 5.18 about here

We have also indicated that there were only occasional science, art, music and health lessons. The problems of reading, language, spelling, arithmetic, and language were the key ones attacked.

Unimportant Subjects as Activities

It is possible to dimensionalize activities in terms of the importance to the teacher. As activities are so categorized then certain consequences seem to follow. Early examples of these consequences occurred surrounding art, science and health:

2:29 "Some of you have been wanting art. We'll need some newspapers. If you have some lying around, bring some from home."

(LMS--Art seems held up as a privilege in contrast to other subjects wherein it's a duty.) (9/11)

And later that same day:

3:01 "Please stop working and take out your science books." Gives choice on which units they want in science. Must skip III machines and electricity because of a lack of equipment. Asks for suggestions from several.

(LMS--Does little to develop possibilities. Perhaps day as long and tiring as I feel.)

Rocks and soils gets most votes so they begin here. "Rocks and soils not so bad because we can get a few movies. Won't start today. Probably next week." This is met with mild cheers. Health lessons every few weeks, but most of this from films. "We have books in the back but we won't use them."

3:05 People go back to finishing lessons and Geoffrey to getting things organized at his desk--probably for next day. Pens used for penmanship. (9/11)

(LMS--The science and health episodes, the text orientation, the long labor this A.M. on simple language art skills, the minimal homework suggests the cumulative deficit in substantive knowledge that

Schedules

<table>
<tr><th></th><th>M</th><th>T</th><th>W</th><th>T</th><th>F</th></tr>
<tr><td>8:30 - 9:30</td><td colspan="5">Reading</td></tr>
<tr><td>9:30 - 10:15</td><td colspan="5">History and Geography</td></tr>
<tr><td>10:15 - 10:30</td><td colspan="5">Recess</td></tr>
<tr><td>10:30 - 11:15</td><td colspan="5">Language</td></tr>
<tr><td>11:15 - 12:00</td><td>Science</td><td>Music</td><td>Science</td><td>Music</td><td>Spelling test</td></tr>
<tr><td>1:00 - 2:00</td><td>Gym</td><td>Art</td><td>Gym</td><td>Art</td><td>Health</td></tr>
<tr><td>2:00 - 2:30</td><td colspan="5">Spelling and Writing</td></tr>
<tr><td>2:30 - 3:30</td><td colspan="5">Arithmetic</td></tr>
</table>

Figure 5.18. The schedule of activities on October 1st.

> these kids will be facing in high school competition and later in college if any get that far. The contrast in time and variety of experiences of a suburban seventh grader is astounding.
>
> This interlocks with teaching as leadership, a supervisor role wherein everything moves along, and teacher as academician wherein ideas abound and come and go in many directions. To a very high degree the former is the rule here. The question that arises is how much is this a function of the kids' personalities (limited I.Q., prior knowledge, value placed in school and parental support) and how much is something else--the teachers, the situation, etc.?) (9/11)

Appropriateness of Activities

Later in the semester, the observer hypothesized about another element of activities, appropriateness. This occurred in a language arts period:

> 11:34 Back to the lesson on adjectives. Recitation up and down rows, and criss-cross about room. Many children have not done assignments. Makes the recitation slow, awkward, and difficult to follow.
>
> (LMS--Once again I am struck with the inappropriate curriculum content. Don't know what would be better, but the returns seem so minimal for the effort being expended. Seem like one would be better in total substance curriculum. Read reception of information. Writing to tell about things and only occasionally and usually in context introducing grammar. Try this out in special class group of drop-outs.)
>
> 11:45 Geoffrey stops in his presentation of new lesson to wait for Joe K. who has been yawning and studying ceiling above and behind himself.
>
> (LMS--Another good illustration of their lack of contact.) Geoffrey finishes phrase modifier lesson and asks Walt S., Grace, Evelyn and Marian to write sentence. (They're all hopelessly beyond their depth.)

The concept, appropriateness refers to the combination of the materials and their impact on the child. In this instance minimal observable correct responses occur.

Interrupted Activity

As we keep indicating, activities have many dimensions. If we were creative enough, perhaps the dimensions would be infinite. An important one of these is the degree to which an activity is interrupted or uninterrupted. One of our clearest illustrations occurred in this way: Geoffrey has broken into a study period with an announcement of an insurance form:

> Goes through insurance form carefully.
>
> 2:41 Messenger in (P.E. 9:30 - 10:15 M. and W.). Second messenger in before first is out. Third messenger in before first is out.
>
> 2:43 Back to insurance.

Messengers from the office or from other teachers are just a single manifestation of the general concept --interrupted activity. We have tried to sketch some of the implications in Figure 5.19.

Insert Figure 5.19 about here

Difficulty Level of Activity

As Mr. Geoffrey taught a language arts lesson, identifying verbs, the impact of pupil background and lesson content, ties down the important activity dimension: difficulty level:

> 9:29 Begins exercise on page 17, "Find the verbs." Begins with No. 1 and works down through calling on non-volunteers. Accents the "has been cut" as total phrase. Asks for subjects also. As girls (especially) get stuck he keeps raising questions and probes. Teases Susan who will not speak out loudly. . . No. 7. "She's making it of patches of old orange and blue clothes." "Stop and think." Deals quickly and neatly with "She's making it. . . ." Ben answers "is making." "Where's is?" In "She's. . .,"etc. Helen picks up contraction. On next item, even Elma is with it. (LMS--What a difference when they have basic idea and approach.) (9/12)

In trying to diagram these events, we produced Figure 5.20.

Insert Figure 5.20 about here

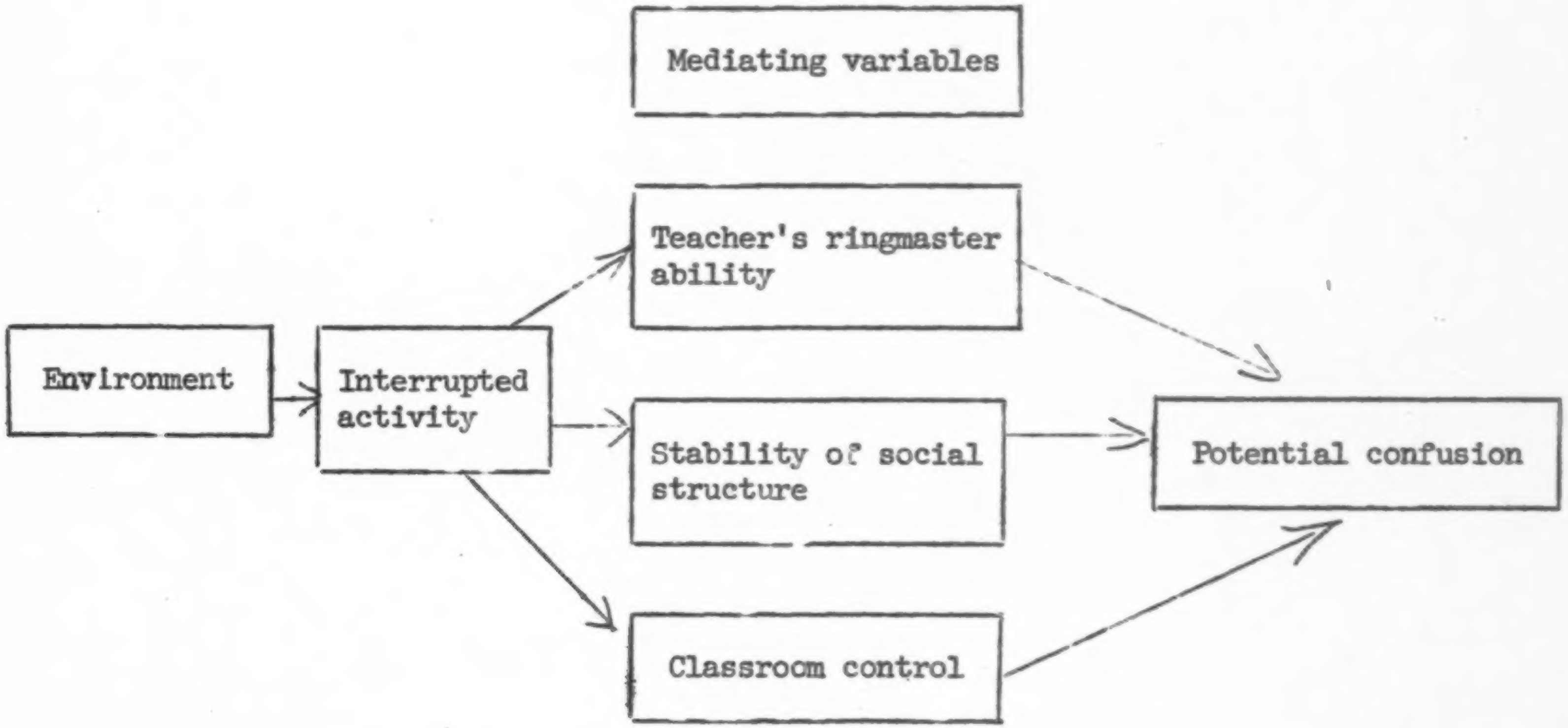
Mediating variables
Teacher's ringmaster ability
Environment
Interrupted activity
Stability of social structure
Potential confusion
Classroom control

Figure 5.19. An analysis of the "interrupted" activity" dimension in relation to other aspects of social structure.

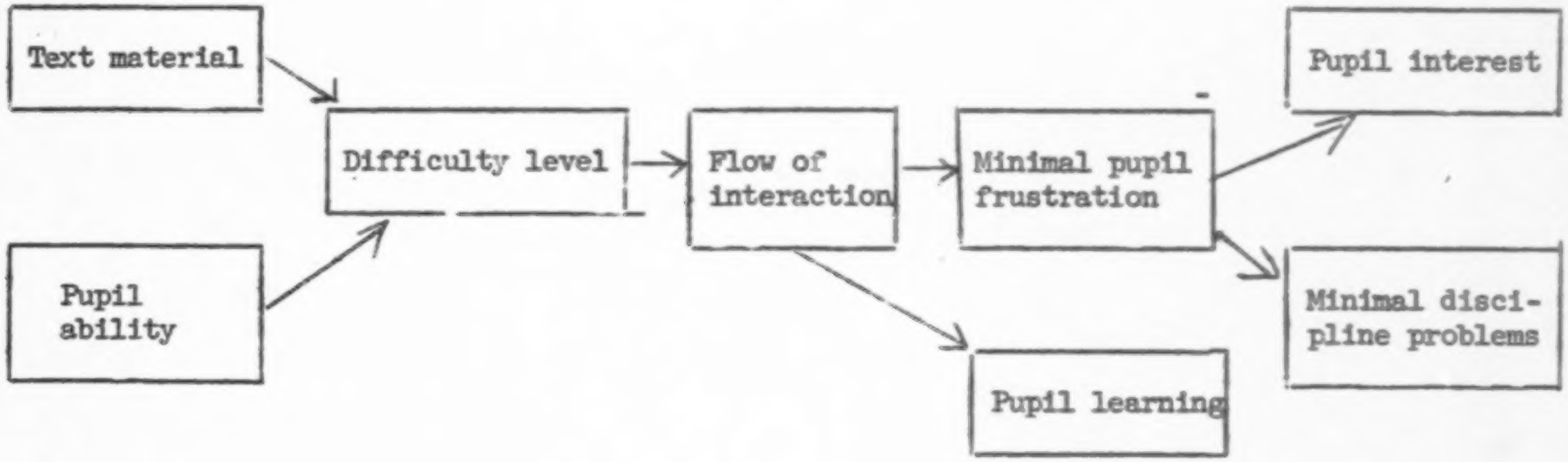
Text material
Pupil ability
Difficulty level
Flow of interaction
Minimal pupil frustration
Pupil learning
Pupil interest
Minimal discipline problems

Figure 5.20. Hypotheses relating to difficulty level of activity.

The Problem of Homework as an Activity

The psychological literature does not give a clear definition of problem. Usually, the implication exists that problems have a novel or obstacle character about themselves and that no simple or direct behavior exists in the repertory of the person confronting the situation. In these regards homework qualifies as a problem to the teacher. From our conceptual point of view, homework falls initially and simply as a "kind of activity" and aids us in moving toward a taxonomy of this concept. However, as a problem, it possesses linkages with most aspects of the system we have been developing. The story starts early in the semester, and began without the observer being aware of its significance at those early moments. On Tuesday morning, September 10th, the field notes contain several interpretive statements sandwiched between other more substantive comments:

> Finishes questions 12 - 15. Corrects Rose by putting in periods and capital letters. "Any questions? They were very well done. Pass them forward. If more than one sheet be sure name is on both. . . . Starting tomorrow. . . . Little black book. Not a telephone book. Every single assignment and test goes in this book. If in doubt ask me and you can check. I hope there will be no blank spaces. Most of you have a good idea of run-on sentences--better than fragments. Skip page 9. . . ." Reads material and raises declarative, interrogative, imperative, exclamatory. (9/10)

Only a few minutes later, the notes record another series of episodes:

> "Give you an easy assignment tomorrow." Reads directions. Looks for volunteers to write #1 on the board. "Same volunteers all the time. Eileen you come up and volunteer." She does; writes declarative. Forgets the period. Asks what's missing and sends her back.
>
> 10:02 Paper monitor passes out the paper. Edwin and Billy out on errands. Molly asked to fill coffee pot. "You may have the ten minutes before recess to work on assignment. Don't rush through."
>
> 10:04 "Sandy. What's that board down there?" She moves on to put up assignment for language. Helps her to get it all and get it correct. She's pouty and heel dragging.

10:06 All are working--except Pete. Elma "borrows" some help from Sarah. Allison asks Helen regarding #4. Lanny "borrows" from Davey. Sam checks #12 with Oliver. Geoffrey asks Molly if she wants to get out of that job, coffee monitor.

The activity of homework blends into the system in at least several ways: Geoffrey has initial example so that the children know how to carry out the assignment, the monitorial system facilitates having materials (paper), time is provided to begin the activity, details on due time and precise nature of the assignment are recorded publically and provision is made--tolerated?--for children giving and receiving of aid from each other. Figure 5.21 contains some of these implications.

Insert Figure 5.21 about here

The Daily Lesson, Textbooks, Learning, and Social Structure

Instruction, is a special word in the language of the Big City teachers at the Washington School. It refers to the teacher's presentation of a daily lesson from the text book. The key concepts are: teacher presentation rather than pupil direction or control, the daily lesson which accents the short time span and a perceptible unit of activity distinguishable from that which went before and that which will come later, and the text book which frames or programs the longer sequences. These, as we indicated earlier, show variation from the spelling lesson which has a recurring weekly rhythm besides the daily units of work to the social studies lesson we present below:

2:28 "All right take out your history books please. Page 254." "What continent are we reading about--Elma? What? First country?" Urges Davey to read loud and clear. Reads several paragraphs then Edwin. He stumbles on "decline" and "ruin". Quizzes regarding archeologists--Allison and Billy, Helen, Dick. Davey reads but Geoffrey raises soft voice. "I hope the rest of you can find the glossary in the back of the book." They read on: Jimmie, Allison (she has serious trouble--security, punctilious, etc.). Quizzes regarding security. Reads on.

Billy reading. Also has considerable difficulty. (LMS--He could not follow content on his own in this material.) Edwin haltingly, Sarah beautifully. Eileen with trouble on caravan but generally not bad. Sandy quite well. Geoffrey reads for a turn.

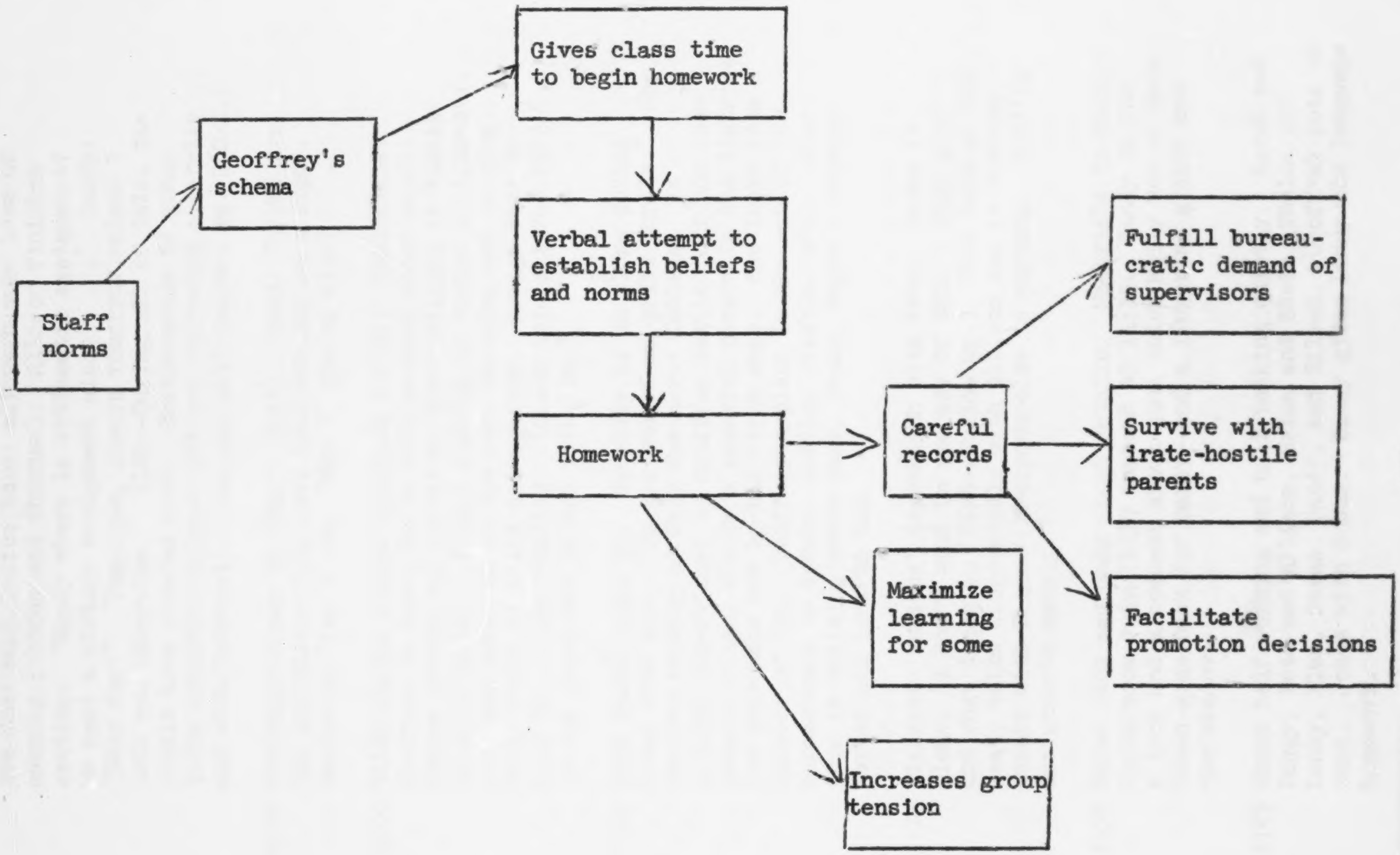
Staff norms
Geoffrey's schema
Gives class time to begin homework
Verbal attempt to establish beliefs and norms
Homework
Careful records
Fulfill bureaucratic demand of supervisors
Survive with irate-hostile parents
Facilitate promotion decisions
Maximize learning for some
Increases group tension

Figure 5.21. The ramifications of homework as an activity.

African gifts to civilization. Allison reads on. She does much better here; although some loss of meaning (thorns and thrones). Allison finishes section. "Sandy where is arithmetic assignment? We need a history assignment also. . . ." Sandy: "When due?" "Tomorrow, always tomorrow unless I tell you otherwise." (LMS--During all of this, the pupils have quieted down. Restlessness is gone; quite attentive (almost all are following carefully and with interest). Assigns self-tester, pp. 260-1.)

2:55 Messenger comes in (key's lost). Sends Thelma for Sam and Oliver (who have been working on a sign). Banter on "Can I" vs. "May I" pin up sign?

3:00 Billy raises second question for me: Ethiopians? Geoffrey is busy, he is with several other pupils. Raises procedural questions about filling in blanks on self tester. People working on varied assignments. Geoffrey moves about the room checking and helping. Billy collects chalk and erasers. Brings Pete to desk to do some reading (Check this out for Pete is one pupil who is not with him.)

3:07 Miss James[30] comes by. Geoffrey is on close joking terms with her. "He was one of my prize pupils." She teaches reading at City Teachers' College. Is general supervisor; as Geoffrey rattled off her responsibilities, she is a powerful person in the district. She addresses him by his first name. She looks like a sponsor of him. Geoffrey's place in the web of the bureaucracy is secure, mobile, visable, etc.. Also true in building where Holt, Inman, Eagle, Gennep, Norton all look to him.

3:13 Finishes 'serious' discussion with Pete. Makes it clear, "I don't want to see any of this", what goes and what doesn't. (LMS--Follow up.) Pete back at his seat, talks disgruntedly with Allison who is trading papers with Helen. Everyone else is working. Reading assignments mainly.

3:20 Raise odds and ends about details. Materials in hall, lunch room duty 11:30 instead of 11:15. Sandy in for a look and a comment about junk which Molly has of hers. Susan goes back for paper--and a lingering glance out the window.

3:25 About half working and half talking quietly. Sarah and Peggy, Pete and Allison, Helen and Edwin, Thelma and Lonny, Elma, Susan, Sandy, and Eileen. Geoffrey puts on coat. Jokes with Susan. Davey gives Lonny the language homework.

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[30] Miss James is a supervisor. Geoffrey introduces the observer to her and the three converse briefly.

3:29 "Anyone else going to check out a library book this afternoon?" Geoffrey locks case. "Let me speak regarding maps and globes: they are yours to be looked at and used. Don't mark."

Bell.

Boys line up. "Boys close windows. Edwin, Pete, and Davey, paper monitors how about paper. . . you know at 3:25? All right girls line up." (9/9)

In the middle of an afternoon after long arithmetic and history lessons Geoffrey makes an announcement or two and the observer makes an interpretation or two:

2:27 "Couple of items. Some of you have been wanting art. We'll need some newspapers. If you have some lying around, bring some from home." Scurrying around for paper, pencil sharpening, assignments, etc..

Everyone busy. Book reporting. Geoffrey shakes his head "no" over Billy's report, while keeping eyes on class.

(LMS--Art seems held up as a privilege in contrast to other subjects wherein it's a duty. (2) Text book teaching eases the preparation by the teacher: no problem organizing, no problem bringing in materials, preparing exercises, etc.. There's a clarity of sequence for pupils. Also and probably very important a firm focus on where one is at all times. (9/10)

Much of Geoffrey's time was spent in homework recitations in which the major questions were factual. Occasionally he entertained what seemed to the observer to be brief and abortive contextual discussions:

3:03 No assignment for Monday. Read few pages, Rise of Nations. Picks up synonyms: country, state, kingdom.

3:04 Has Allison begin reading. Has France picked out by Dick. Raises question as to why spend so much time on people of Europe? Thelma, Molly can't answer. Sam has some trouble too. Out of Dick's answer he begins to pick up historical origins of United States.

(LMS--These discussions seem open to question in terms of their development and usefulness.)

These points we have incorporated into Figure 5.22.

Insert Figure 5.22 about here

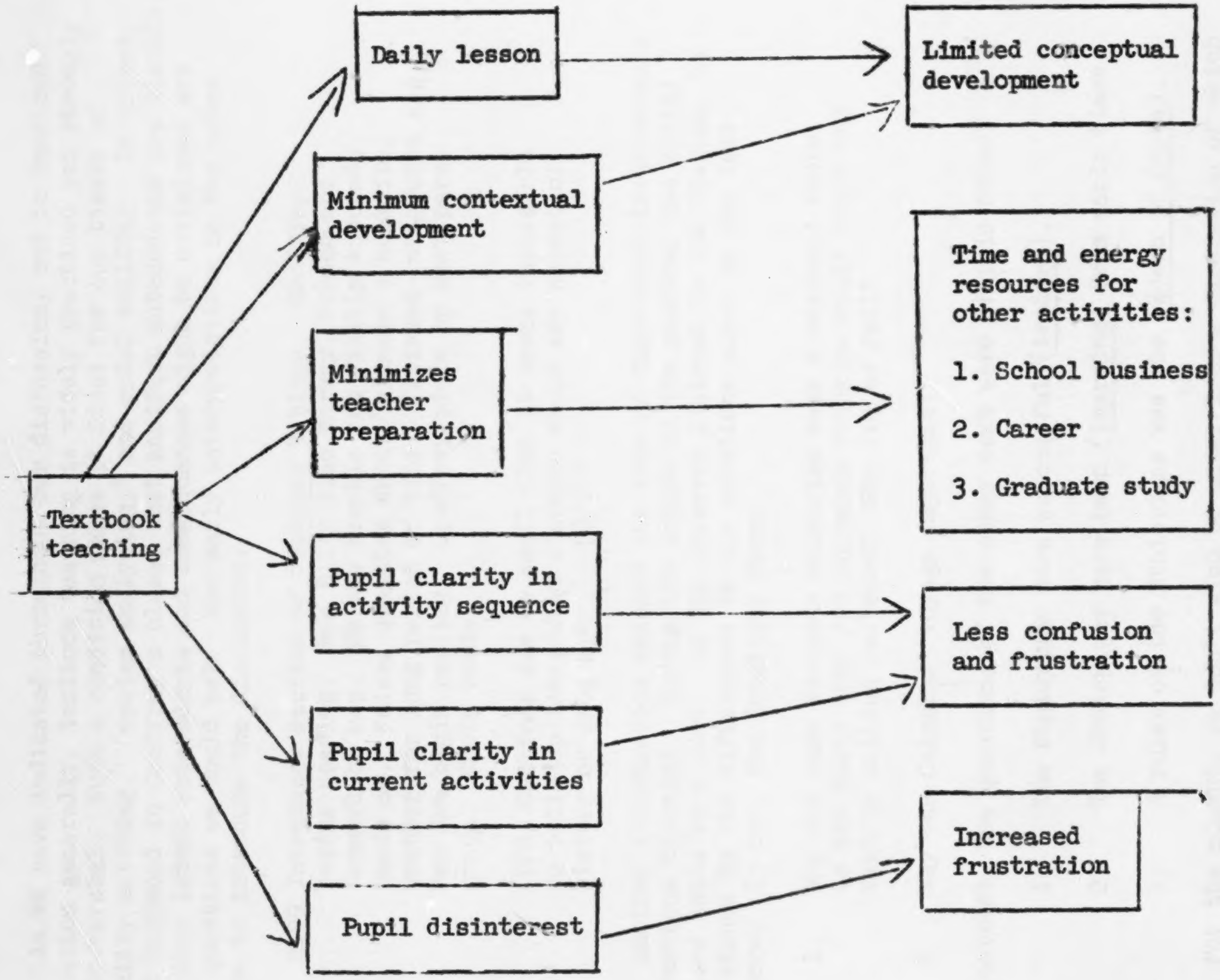
Textbook teaching
Daily lesson
Minimum contextual development
Minimizes teacher preparation
Pupil clarity in activity sequence
Pupil clarity in current activities
Pupil disinterest
Limited conceptual development
Time and energy resources for other activities:
1. School business
2. Career
3. Graduate study
Less confusion and frustration
Increased frustration

Figure 5.22. Impact of textbook teaching on aspects of the social structure.

As we have indicated throughout our discussion, and in American education generally, textbook teaching is widely practiced yet strongly controversial. Such a condition makes it ideal for our biases of "reality watching," "system analyzing," and model building. In effect, what happened in Geoffrey's class, what manifest antecedents are visible, and what latent antecedents and consequences might be envisioned are the questions we would ask. Two early interpretations in the notes serve to introduce the discussion:

> 2:09 Introduces section of Restless Vikings. Geoffrey begins reading. Has Billy find Norway, Sweden and Denmark on map. He has trouble but finally succeeds. Reads on. Raises question about "climate": humidity, weather for long period of time. Finishes paragraphs and has Sam begin reading. Geoffrey picks up next paragraph. Edwin reads.
>
> (LMS--Sections are so small that it seems impossible to build up integrated concepts about any aspect of history or geography.) (9/10)

Another illustration extends the idea of functional inequivalents in textbook teaching. During the course of the semester two social studies texts were used. As the observer listened to the lessons, he was struck by the differences in the questions asked by the text authors. In one, the questions were:

1. Why did some European countries seek a westward route to the East? Why did Columbus think he could reach the East by sailing westward? Why did he fail?

2. Why was Columbus' voyage important?

In contrast, the questions of the other text were of this order:

1. The Ethiopians were successful (traders).

2. The Ethiopians have been (learning) from early times.

3. A ruler of the Ethiopians was the (Queen of Sheba).

For the moment, we don't wish to enter into a discussion of which questions are better. The point we would make is that the latter accents the recall of fairly specific facts, category one in the Taxonomy of Educational Objectives (Bloom, *et al*, 1957), and the former accents analysis and evaluation skills. Even though both are illustrations of a common approach, textbook learning, they don't function in the same manner. This raises a critical complexity in the analysis of classroom activities.

Some Other Dimensions: Concepts, Intellectual Skills, and Joy of Knowing

Another category of activities engaged in by the children might be called concept attainment. While Geoffrey varied his approach and emphasis the usual format for teaching concepts is reflected in the notes of an early language arts lesson:

> Page 10. . . . Kinds of Sentences. Reads material and raises: declarative; interrogative; imperative; exclamatory. On the Please Raise the Window illustration, Oliver clowns a bit. Illustrations by Geoffrey are all from the book. Has them close books and try to associate the names of kinds with defining aspect. Goes around the room--no-one can answer. Sarah responds. Three boys say "She looked in the book." "Which kind do I use the most?" Several respond with humor about interrogative, exclamatory, and imperative. Has them close books and starts around again. Illustrates interrogative with Policeman interrogating. "If I make a statement and declare something, what kind of statement?" Gives other illustrations. Returns to book and defines all four again. (LMS--Good illustration for developing concepts. See learning concepts for analyses.) Moves to section on punctuating sentences.
>
> "Give you an easy assignment tomorrow." Reads directions. Looks for volunteers to write #1 on the board. "Same volunteers all the time." "Eileen, you come up and volunteer." She does; writes declarative. Forgets the period. Asks what's missing and sends her back.

As we have indicated the procedures for concept attainment are quite in accord with the deductive-inductive position, use of examples, statement of rule or definition, and involvement of the pupil. While we don't have measures of results for such a specific illustration we were impressed throughout the semester with the limited learning which occurred and which was retained. In thinking about this the key issue to which we always returned, concerned the appropriateness or inappropriateness of this curriculum for these children. The concern for the theory or language system of language arts, and naming kinds of sentences is part of that theory, reflects a sophistication required only at much later points in the life of the student as a writer. A sophisticated communicator will know that interrogative or exclamatory statements are required in certain contexts, that they subtly change the meaning and implication of a situation, that they require different punctuation, and that some authors make greater and lesser use of them. To talk intelligently at a sophisticated level, about writing requires these distinctions. If one is working with brightchildren and with children who have strongly developed life styles of deferred gratification then this kind of program might be appropriate and workable. To engage at this time in such work the youngsters at Washington School seems to err seriously. The vast majority seem to have neither the ability nor the concrete experience for making such subtle discriminations.

One morning late in October, Geoffrey had on his desk an audio-visual catalogue. Norton and the observer were conversing about as usual. The conversation triggered the following notes:

> In looking over the Audio-Visual supplement, Norton commented about the series of film strips on thinking skills. They are slated from grades 6 - 9; her reaction was that they were inapplicable for "our kids." She was not going to investigate further. I commented about the resemblance to outlining. She saw the point. (LMS--Couple of important reactions: (1) her personal belief "they're not appropriate for our kids" screens out many possible innovations and productive leads, (2) her belief is supported by the peer group norm. I keep returning to the very difficult problem of which reality is real--is it the kids, the teachers' norms, or some blend of these? How much is alterable and how much is not, is the key question? This is one of the basic premises or givens in the decision making. As you agree or disagree with this, you predetermine a tremendous range of behavior and decisions and you close out another large section of possibilities. (3) Another important principle comes back again--varied experience and concrete emotional and perceptual experience. You need this fund of basic S-R connections if you are to ultimately attach symbols (concepts, labeling) etc., to classes of experiences. (Part of this arises from watching a suburban child's trouble with the language of the new math. She can't feel or evoke images concretely regarding the stuff.) (4) Relates to King Wientge's[31] problem: make abstract concrete and then individual can follow it. Thinking skills require this. Film strips on aspects of thinking should present some lessons in another format; the outlining problem. (5) Raises questions also about facilitation in classroom control through demand qualities of the activities. Moving through more of this material should lessen the number of interaction influence attempts. (See Redl data.) The interplay between the demand quality and the confusion in setting

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31. At that time an unfinished doctoral dissertation.

> up film strips. Part of latter should be lessened by film strips versus film and the fact that shades are already down in the morning to keep out the sun on the East. (10/21)

In late October, a brief before-school conversation generated the following account in the field notes:

> In chatting I was groaning about the new "math". This introduced a few minutes' discussion regarding base 5's etc.. This is one of the few times that anything of this sort has occurred here. As a group, the second floor clique does not talk about such issues. Neither Gennep, Norton, or Geoffrey was thoroughly aware of the position. (10/21)

As we reflect upon this, it strikes us that the lower class teacher is out of the mainstream of current educational innovation or fad (which may be good or bad). It raises problems of teacher in-service training, and it suggests why some people are content to remain teaching here and why others, after being here for some time, are unable to move.

Many bases exist for the selection of curricular experiences. Our description has indicated that the major decisions occurred in the selection of the textbooks and in the faculty norms regarding the important things to teach. Because of the array of apathy and motivational problems we noted experiences which might fit the category "joy of knowing". The notes contain few of these in contrast to the innumerable references to banter, joking, and joy in the children's relationship with Mr. Geoffrey as a person full of humor and interested in them.

In a spelling exercise dealing with compound words, a few words have been put on the board and a few are done orally in a recitation which moves up and down the aisles. The notes read:

> Picks up on occasional alternatives--welfare and farewell. This brought out a glimmer of an "epistemic" smile from Kent. One of the first pleasures of knowing that has occurred. (9/10)

Later in the morning of September 10th, Geoffrey begins a poetry lesson.[32] The episode develops this way: Sam and Irma are excused because they are repeating the grade and have heard the poem, "The Son". Geoffrey reads the poem to them and asks them to write down what the woman is talking about. He walks about the class making his usual individual comments as he checks papers: "That's part of it", "Almost", "Lost?", "That's right", and so forth. The notes contain next:

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[32] This was one of the very few poetry lessons taught during the semester.

11:41 Reads again and interlocks explanation with questions and discussion. Sandy sees the light, "Oh." "What happened?" Geoffrey asks and she replies, "He died." (LMS--Second illustration of surprise and joy at seeking the point.) (9/10)

11:42 Second poem regarding snow.

"What kind of person is that? Write it down." Geoffrey checks around. "Where did you get that idea?" Davey: "Lazy." Dick: "Dull." Ronald: "Small." Dick: "Smart." "You just told me a minute ago dull. . . which side do you want to be on? Do you think she's the kind who. . . gold in Alaska, give a speech, lead a group to museum? Member of a group? Do nothing? Do things on her own? Or others tell her?" Edwin asks, "What is it?" "No exactly right answer," says Geoffrey.

Announcement about Level 5 books in Gennep's room.

Picks another poem.

"What's happening?" Davey: "Don't know." "Listen again." Reads first two verses and quizzes. Asks what finally happens. Peggy: "Got killed." "Where or how?" Sea fishing and boats crashed.

(LMS--Best example of inferential thinking so far. Expand into larger discussion.)[33]

What are poems about--love, death, girls.

11:52 "Richard Corry."

"What's poem trying to tell you?" "Rich but not happy . . . wanted to be like others. . . not be greedy . . . so rich, others don't like him."

A number of possibilities are raised in discussion. Some far-fetched. . . . Geoffrey doesn't let this go too far.

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[33] As we've indicated minimal amounts of this kind of open-ended thinking occurred.

11:55 "I guess that's all for today. I just wanted to have you hear these."

> (LMS--At this point he is apologetic about the poetry. This is an interesting point for most kids listen along, respond eagerly to hypothetical questions and guesses. No reservations regarding "sissy stuff". (9/10)

As a final illustration, a long half-hour lesson on Roman numerals was followed by a briefer "mental arithmetic" session. Geoffrey had followed the text discussion; he presented the basic rules, e.g. a letter placed after one of higher value increases the number, XII; he worked problems on the board; he had pupils work problems at their seats; he moved about the room checking and commenting; he entered into banter along the way with Oliver and Sam; and he had volunteers put answers on the board. The notes conclude:

> This whole exercise has been approached in gamelike fashion. Most of the children have responded with enthusiasm. All (except Pete) have worked at it. (9/10)

Beyond the joy of knowing, it's difficult to know which variables are carrying the major burden: lesson difficulty is low enough that most of the children can do it, lesson clarity about principles, importance of principles, the variety within the lesson, the individual or personalized teacher-pupil interaction (banter and humor on the one hand and individual checking and correcting on the other), or the high degree of pupil activity. These are indicated in Figure 5.23.

Insert Figure 5.23 about here

Conclusion: Halloween Parties as Curriculum

On Friday morning, November 1, the following notes were dictated, as the observer drove down to the Washington School. The interplay among foreshadowed problems, close observation of the memorabilia of an on-going situation, the general faith in putting order in the data, and the press to conceptualize looms large. Substantively we will begin our analysis of "What should the slum school teach?":

> A number of odds and ends to clear up. The more I think about yesterday's Halloween party, the more convinced I become of the importance and necessity for such an event in the lives of these children. The difficult sorting job is between whether this is

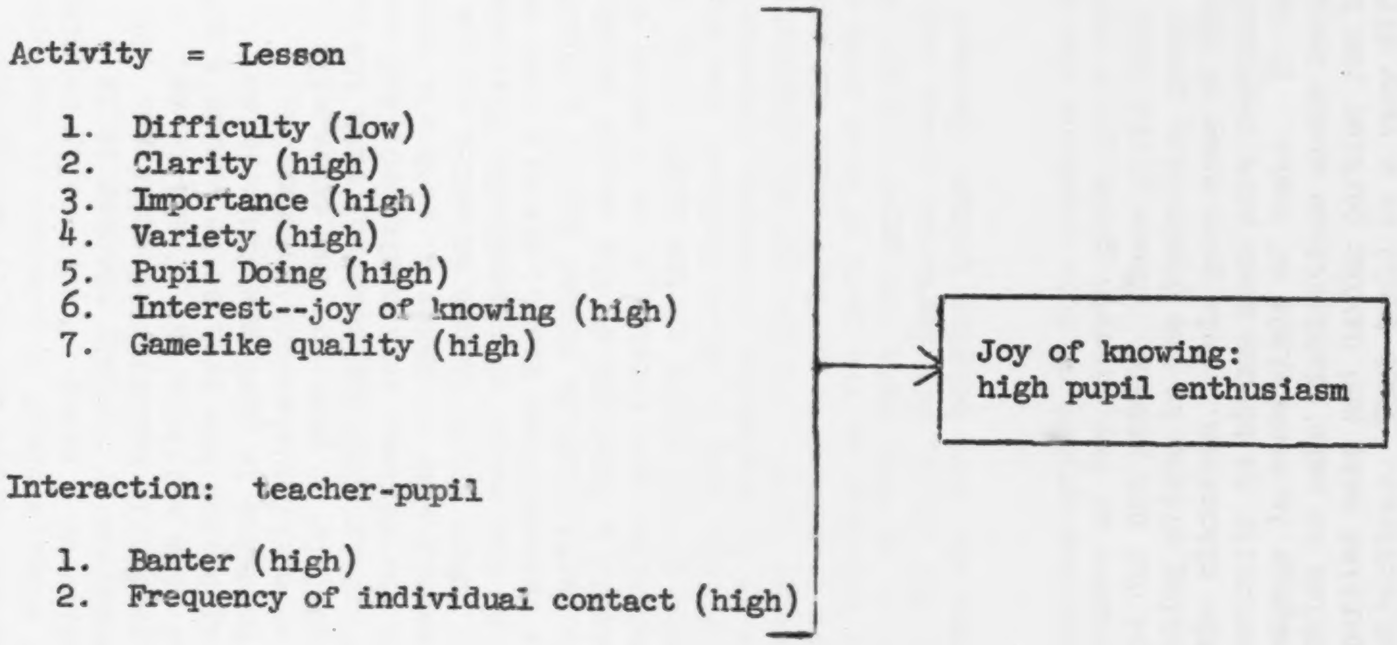
Activity = Lesson
1. Difficulty (low)
2. Clarity (high)
3. Importance (high)
4. Variety (high)
5. Pupil Doing (high)
6. Interest--joy of knowing (high)
7. Gamelike quality (high)
Interaction: teacher-pupil
1. Banter (high)
2. Frequency of individual contact (high)
Joy of knowing:
high pupil enthusiasm

Figure 5.23. An attempt to analyze the activity concept as related to pupil enthusiasm.

a typical pre-adolescent and early adolescent timidity and embarrassment phenomenon or whether it is a question of a group of culturally deprived children phenomenon or finally whether it is a question of generally maladjusted children. My guess is that it's a little bit of all three. Billy's hiding behind the desk so he wouldn't get called upon to dance is most particularly an adolescent, an early adolescent phenomenon. Leonard's inability to pass out the extra milk without practically clubbing somebody with the metal case in which the cartons were contained, and his wolf-like slashing away at Henry L. with his teeth on his arm as Henry tried to get an extra carton looks more like the needs of a seriously disturbed kid. Joe G's reservations about entering into any of the active participation seemed partly a function of him and partly a function of the racial problem. (Generally racially, not locally.) As I watch them trying to limbo to the music of the Limbo Rock, I can't help but feel that a whole flock of the boys found some means of beginning to relate themselves to the enterprise at large. In the actual preparation for the party, it seemed to me that there was more task-oriented behavior on the part of such kids as Alan and Walt G. as they made the paper chains, and among some of the girls, for instance, Leona and Marian, and of the boys who were hanging things, Leonard and Joe K, etc.

Another interesting aspect of this concerns the fact that a good number of the seventh grade girls were all out absent and did not attend. These girls were part of the dominating clique in the dominating group of children in the classroom. This gave some of the six's an opportunity to become much more responsible and also to engage in such kinds of tasks. It is a difficult problem to make distinctions about having parties for parties sake and having parties for legitimate educational objectives. That could be a very difficult one to think through carefully. (It's reminiscent of the old Havinghurst et al paper on Education for What!)[34] For some reason I am totally amazed that I had not thought about the just mentioned monograph. As far as I know this has not been quoted anywhere in the literature on the culturally deprived. As I think back upon it, it looks like it will contain a beautiful integration with the past literature. That would really be high comedy if it were to become a major thesis. It would raise considerable emphasis upon the coming and going with fads and the fact that it now is out of vogue and no-one has quoted it and everybody is thinking "tough intellectual thoughts". Another very interesting aspect is that I came at the problem without any conscious awareness of the possibility of the Havinghurst statement. Now, as I look at my data, and as I watch the children behave in situations such as this one, it becomes a very real and potent interpretation. In this sense, it's an independently arrived at interpretation and should carry considerably more validity than if I had just been reading it off-hand the past few days or weeks. If this be true, then it opens up a further possibility that a good bit of the prescriptions that came out of the depression era literature should be applicable to the big city now. I am excited about this "gem" as I have been about the decision-making "gem". This will bring tremendous focus to the whole issue of cultural deprivation and at the same time provide a hoped-for authority to carry the arguments.[35]

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[34] The partial recall here is really for the Warner, Havighurst, and Leob volume, Who shall be educated?

My guess is that one of the reasons the "Who Shall be Educated" point of view dropped out of vogue was the tremendous increase in general affluence in our society and particularly the growth of modern suburbia in the post World War II years which presented a whole new array of problems to American education. Only now as people go back to the central city issues do the earlier observations really become pertinent once again. As I recall, in some of this literature they raised the problems of ethnic groups in great detail, even though they were not as heavily accented upon the racial issue. The issue here is not so much teaching children middle-class values in behavior, but really accenting some of the broader and basic cultural traditions at the core of our society. In this sense, Halloween is a very nice superficial example. More important though is an issue such as resolving conflicts through judicial type processes. This really looks good, I hope I am not deluding myself.

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[35] These issues are being elaborated into an extended essay entitled, "Toward an ideal education: a design for an experimental school in a slum community."

It's amazing how this interpretation all began with making sense of the Halloween party. It suggests the need for wide and varied background of the participant observer. It accents the importance of this question of saying to oneself, "What's really going on here," or "How can I make the most sense of what's happening." Or, "What is the pattern here," or "How can I fit the pattern into the materials." The implication is that there is a connective structuring process going on all the time. In this sense the "data don't speak to you." They have to be shaped and molded and pushed and pulled about. (11/1)

Appendix I

The Methodology of Classroom Micro-ethnography

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A.

Preface

When we began this methodological appendix we had envisioned a larger and more final essay. Specifically we had wanted to present, and we have, an account of the "microethnography of classroom research", plus an integration of several other lines of work. First we wanted to assess, vis a vis our approach, the strengths and weaknesses of the more popular "quantitative observation" which has received considerable recent emphasis in educational research. Second we wished to synthesize the literature on concept formation and attainment which seems intuitively to have much to say to the observer who builds and verifies models and theories. The rapid expansion of this literature and our waning energies prevented carrying out this option. Third, the "commonalities in the related disciplines" of natural history, clinical method in psychology, and historical method strike us as very significant. The scholars working in such areas often see themselves apart from the endeavors of the "scientists" in the laboratory. This separation seems to us reconcilable in both possibility and desirability. Fourth, our pleasure in the novel as a form of literature and the insights of acute observers of the passing scene suggests that the social scientist must attend to the methodologies of this dimension of observation and reporting.[1] An illustration from O'Hara has remained with us:

> If you are an author, and not just a writer, you keep learning all the time. Today for instance, I was thinking about dialogue, listening to dialogue of some characters in my mind's ear, and I learned for the first time in my life that almost no woman who has gone beyond the eighth grade ever calls a fifty cent piece a half-a-dollar. A male author, writing dialogue carelessly, might easily have a female character say 'half-a-dollar' because it sounded right to him. But it would be wrong, it would harm his characterization, and he would never know why. (O'Hara, 1961, p. ix).

Finally, we had wanted to read, summarize, and integrate the large literature on the nature of legal evidence which seems so close to the kind of reasoning engaged in by the participant observer. This then was the methodology section to which we aspired; hopefully a more industrious scholar will tread that path.[2]

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1. Truman Capote's use of the term "a nonfiction novel" for his book, In Cold Blood, suggests a new midpoint on the dimension.

2. We have included in the bibliography some of the relevant references upon which we had begun.

B.

Introduction

Any endeavor is partially known by the label which is put upon it. This research, in its broadest scope, utilized the technique of direct observation of an ongoing, naturalistic situation. To say that we collected "anecdotal records" of the events of the classroom casts the project in a mildly disreputable and trivial light. Such a label makes what we did seem much less important than our own feelings reflected at the time. Consequently, when one of our colleagues[3] who liked what we were doing, suggested that we were engaged in the "microethnography of the classroom", we knew immediately that this was what we were doing and that it was high-sounding and that it was important. Beyond the emotional quality of the label, it does suggest two other points of importance. First, we were as we have indicated, trying to describe carefully the small social system. Second, and as we will discuss, we pursued our problem quite consciously as a social anthropologist might have done.

Perhaps the most novel aspect of the methodology from either a psychological or a social anthropological point of view concerns what we call the "inside-outside" phenomenon. The classroom teacher was a full-fledged participant in the research. He kept daily field notes of his perception of the classroom and its functioning. The University observer w as equally a full-fledged participant in the research. He kept detailed field notes of his observations of the classroom. While it is not our purpose at this point to analytically develop the distinction between the participant and the non-participant observer, it should be noted that the classroom was viewed from these two perspectives: the teacher who had an inside look at what was going on and why it was going on and the University investigator who had an outsider's view of what was happening and why it was happening. To the best of our knowledge this procedure has not been utilized in educational research.[4]

The actual layout of the classroom is presented in Figure 1. Mr. Geoffrey's desk was to the left side of the classroom toward the front. Mr. Smith's desk was located at a table on the side toward the rear of the room. Mr. Geoffrey, as the teacher, was in the classroom all day, every day, throughout the semester. His records

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3. We are indebted to Fred Strodtbeck for this concept.

4. In a sense W. F. Whyte's relationship to "Doc" in Street Corner Society provides an analogue. "Doc," however, was primarily an informant; Mr. Geoffrey, the research associate, was a co-investigator trained in professional education and social science theory and research.

consisted of two main kinds: one was a daily set of notes in a teacher's plan book which is kept, hypothetically, by every teacher in the school system. Second, he kept stenographic summary notes on daily events of the classroom. Typically, these were written up in the evening from brief notes he had written to himself during the course of the day. Mr. Smith, the University investigator, was in the classroom almost all day, every day. Actually his University commitments had been lightened and while he was not there literally all day, every day, he was there approximately 80 per cent of the time the class was functioning from the beginning of the semester until the last week of the semester. This gave him the opportunity to observe the day-to-day trials and tribulations of the classroom. As will be described in more detail shortly, he kept a running account, copious field notes, of the classroom events.

Insert Figure I-1 about here

Briefly, we would describe the behavior of the non-participant observer, the nature of the field notes which were taken, the behavior of the participant observer, and finally, the analysis of the data. Because the methodology has not had widespread currency within education we tended to keep rather careful notes also on just how we behaved throughout the project. Our intent was to write eventually, a much more analytical account of such field work in education.

C.

A Behavioral Account of the Method

Basic Guiding Constructs

Even when one does not tally on a pre-determined observation schedule, one must pay attention to some of the guiding constructs and social theory which makes one selectively perceptive in such an observational project as this. The principal investigator's primary intent centered on a twofold desire. He wanted to look at the "real world" and describe it carefully and in considerable detail. From this he wanted to back away and conceptualize this "real world" in broader, more abstract terms which would be applicable to any classroom. This latter point is what is meant by developing a model of the classroom. More specifically, the investigator was interested in learning more about how a middle class teacher copes with a group of lower class children. It was his conviction that no one had a very clear idea about how this was done and that he, most of all, did not have such a conception.

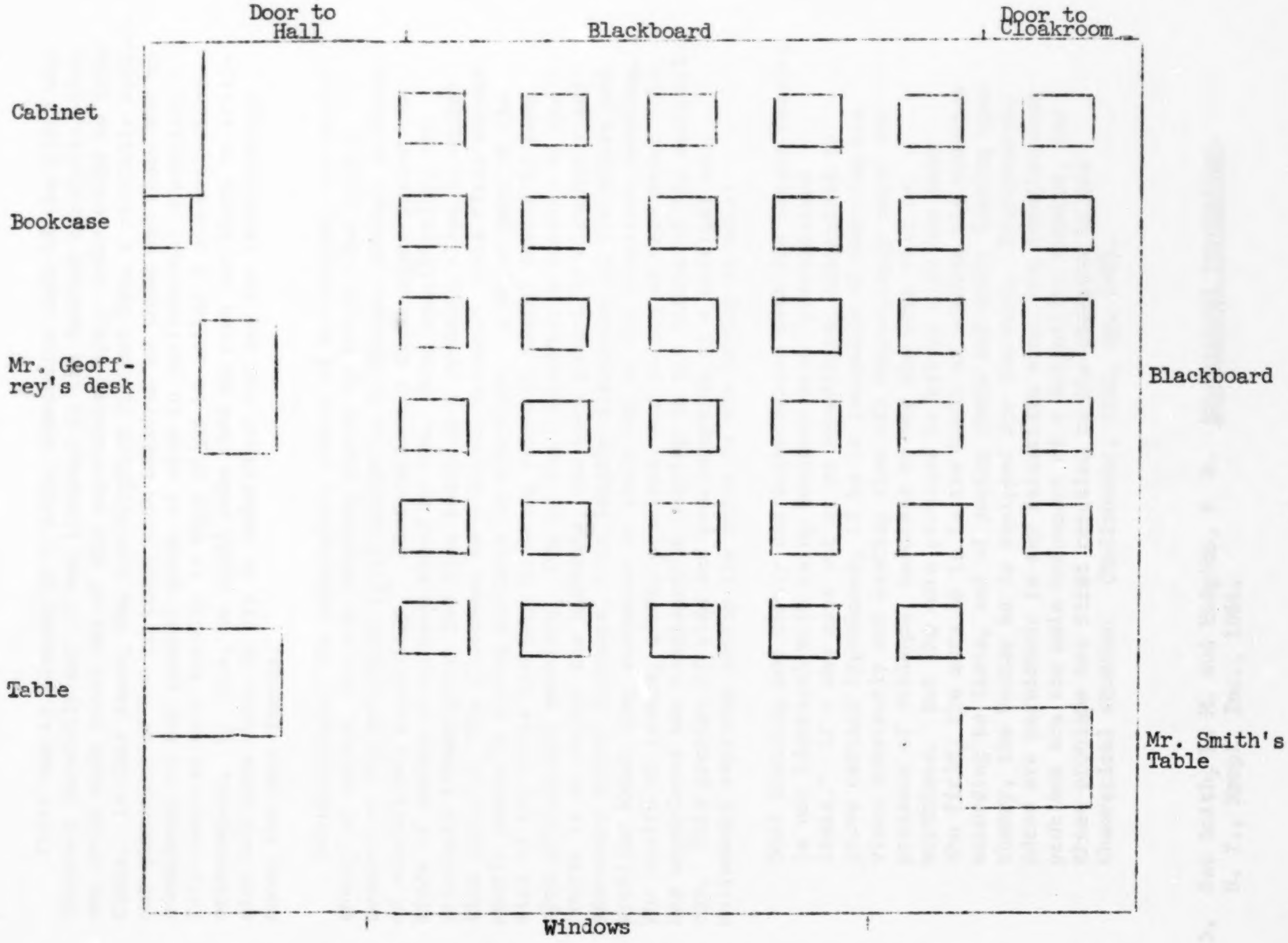
Door to Hall
Blackboard
Door to Cloakroom
Cabinet
Bookcase
Mr. Geoffrey's desk
Blackboard
Table
Mr. Smith's Table
Windows

Figure I.1. Diagram of Mr. Geoffrey's classroom.

There was an element of a naive conviction that if the class was observed carefully and if one listened to the teacher carefully, then one could make sense out of the experience, i.e., order could be found there. In this sense, the investigator did not have a carefully worked-out statement of how to teach such children as these and there was no commitment to any general point of view in professional education. This resulted very heavily in what might be called a non-evaluative orientation. By this, we would mean that we were not there to criticize but were there to try to understand and see the relationships among the many facets.

Substantively, the personality theory of McClelland, the social theory of Homans, and the learning theory of Skinner had been a concern of the principal investigator as he thought through problems of educational psychology.[5] Most certainly these ideas guided the kinds of events which were noted by him. More specifically, the principal investigator has been teaching a graduate class in education entitled "The Classroom as a Social System." This class serves mostly master's degree students in education. A major part of the bias of the class has been to bring relevant social theory to bear upon educational problems. One of the instructor's tactics in the course is to engage the students, who were generally elementary and secondary school teachers, into lengthy discussion of the nature and problems which they encounter in their day to day classroom teaching. The wealth of issues, ideas, problems, and points of view which this has engendered has considerable bearing on the nature of the methodology. This problem of bias and preconception is a critical one. Malinowski captures subtly the point we are trying to make:

> Good training and theory and acquaintance with its latest results, is not identical with being burdened with "preconceived ideas." If a man sets out on an expedition, determined to prove certain hypotheses, if he is incapable of changing his views constantly and casting them off ungrudgingly under the pressure of evidence, needless to say his work will be worthless. But the more problems he brings with him into the field, the more he is in the habit of molding his theories according to facts, and of seeing facts and their bearing upon theory, the better he is equipped for the work. Preconceived ideas are pernicious in any scientific work, but foreshadowed problems are the main endowment of a scientific thinker, and these problems are first revealed to the observer by his theoretical studies. (Malinowski, 1922, pp. 8-9).

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5. See Smith, L. M. and Hudgins, B. B. Educational Psychology. N. Y., Knopf, Inc., 1964.

In effect, we were aware of much educational, psychological theory and we were concerned with many troublesome, unsolved, knotty problems. In effect, our nets were spread to catch some rather elusive quarry. At the same time, partly because we were so unsure of how one "ought to behave" in teaching such children, we tried to be alert to novelties, incongruities, and new ideas. Serendipity was one of our goals.

With the children

The principal investigator was introduced to the children as Mr. Smith, a teacher at City University who is interested in problems of how children learn, what they find difficult, what kinds of things they find easy, what they are interested in, and so forth. The children seemed to accept this without any undue concern. They had some difficulty differentiating him from previous people, e.g. apprentice teachers, who had been in the classroom. This generally was clarified by comments that one of the things that Mr. Smith does is "teach teachers" and he is here to find out more about how lessons go and how children learn. Rather than being bothered or upset by him the children typically were amazed that he could write so fast, in that some 20 pages of longhand notes were taken each day, and that he could sit so long and be so quiet in the classroom.

In line with prior agreements between Mr. Geoffrey and Mr. Smith, the principal investigator did not intervene into classroom activities at any time. He remained outside the discussion and interplay; he did not offer suggestions, criticisms, ideas, or answers to questions. Mr. Geoffrey explained to the children that anytime, except during recitation, they could go back and visit and talk with Mr. Smith if they so desired. The children soon came to understand that he did not report anything that he saw to Geoffrey, whether Geoffrey was in or out of the classroom. The field notes contain several beautiful illustrations of this, one of which occurred when one child was playfully chasing another child about the classroom while Mr. Geoffrey was out of the class. One of the children said, "You better be careful, Mr. Smith will tell on you." The child who was in pursuit commented, "Oh, he never tells on what we do when Mr. Geoffrey isn't here." As a matter of fact, we did talk a great deal about what the children were doing and what kinds of things were happening; however, Geoffrey did not use anything we said to take action toward a child. In this sense, no child ever suffered from having been observed. The basic strategy that was used was first, he never imposed himself upon the children. Second, he always was interested in them and in what they were doing -- what they were saying. Third, typically at recess or during lunch hour, when we were out on the playground together, he would wander about and individuals and groups of children would come up and raise questions and engage in informal conversation and chitchat.

On a number of occasions children would come to the table to ask for help on a lesson. Typically this was handled in a very non-directive fashion. Attempts were made to help clarify the problem, to point out the possibilities and leave the decision to the child as to exactly what he would put down for his answer. The kind of thing that he tried to avoid was being caught later when the child would say "but Mr. Smith said to do it this way." This never happened in the semester of the project. In similar fashion, an attempt was made to stay out of arguments and to stay out of the authority structure. For instance, on one occasion a child commented, seemingly trying to entice the principal investigator into a conflict by saying, "Mr. Smith, make Alan stop doing that." Fortunately, the investigator was able to quip back "Alan knows better than I do what he should or shouldn't be doing, and doesn't need me to tell him." This went over very well, and the children seemed to sense that the investigator had legitimately gotten out or stayed out of the conflict.

With the teachers

A critical problem centered around the principal investigator's relationship with the teachers in the building. While Mr. Geoffrey had "cleared" with the principal investigator during the prior semester, and mentioned to the teachers about the possibility of his coming and while he had made arrangements and secured permission from the administrative hierarchy from the principal and from the superintendent, the burden of acceptance occurred during the Fall. The principal investigator was introduced at the first faculty meeting; he was presented as an educational psychologist from City University who was interested in the problems of teaching and learning with children from "this kind of a neighborhood," an urban slum area. Initially little more than this was done. During the first days of school, the investigator was met informally by most of the teachers in the second floor hall who were nearby to Mr. Geoffrey's room.

Invariably when a teacher of several teachers cornered him alone they would ask him "what are you really doing?" as if they couldn't imagine someone just sitting and watching all day, every day, in one classroom. They made such comments as "Isn't it boring?" "What do you write down?",and so forth. With a couple of the "more rough and ready teachers" these questions were countered with, "In a way it's kind of like Margaret Mead, the anthropologist, who went to the south seas to observe the natives." They would laugh and finish the statement "And we are the natives." The investigator would grin back and comment, "I have never lived or taught in such a neighborhood. Teachers have told me it's different. I want to see as carefully as I can this part of the 'real world'."

The principal investigator did not go into any other classroom except Mr. Geoffrey's. Typically, he did not pry into teachers' business or their conversations. Before school, during recess, and at lunchtime, he took part in the hallway conversations, essentially by staying about, watching the children, and listening to the conversation. Ultimately, as the semester wore on and the teachers came to accept and to feel that he was a reasonably pleasant but naive college instructor who was relatively harmless - at least he didn't gossip, then, he was able to take a more complete role in the faculty group. Also, the ongoing events of the social system kept dragging him into the system, and moving him from a nonparticipant role into a participant role. Some of these have been described in more detail in the main body of the report.

With the teacher, Mr. Geoffrey

The variety of interdependencies between Geoffrey and Smith requires a conceptualization almost as intensive as the monograph itself. Briefly, the relationship had at least these background characteristics: (1) Mr. Geoffrey had been a student of Smith's the preceding year, (2) he was an exceptionally able student, (3) he possessed an interest in and flair for analytical intraceptive behavior, (4) he wrote easily and clearly, (5) he was an accepted member of his school staff. Actually as the data show, he is a prominent member of the faculty.

Within the classroom, minimal interaction occurred between the two of us. Geoffrey had his teaching responsibilities and Smith had his observational responsibilities. Occasionally Geoffrey would elaborate a point in class to help Smith see an issue clearly and often messengers would be told to bring their notes to him as well.

We talked at great length before school at Italo's little restaurant, during recess, and at lunch, although the latter occasions frequently involved other teachers. In order for Smith to meet and know the other teachers, Geoffrey set up a "coffee bar" which the 2nd floor teachers frequented before school and at recess. Occasionally Geoffrey would engage in more extended conversations with faculty members to draw them out for the observer's benefit. Unconsciously, Geoffrey echoed Doc's wisdom in helping William Foote Whyte.

> That's right. You tell me what you want to see, and we'll arrange it. When you want information, I'll ask for it, and you listen.. When you want to find out their philosophy of life, I'll start an argument and get it for you. If there's something else you want to get, I'll stage an act for you. Not a scrap, you know, but just tell me what you want, and I'll get it for you. (Whyte, 1956, p. 292).

One of our innovations, which we fell into, consisted in having morning coffee together before school at Italo's. This gave us an opportunity to communicate matters of the day before and to build a growing relationship. On occasion this became necessary. As an observer, one has access to most of the information available to the teacher but none of the responsibility for implementing the program. When successes occur, the observer has less occasion to feel happy and alternatively when failures or difficulties arise one doesn't need to defend oneself with any of the variety of mechanisms. Consequently, it is possible to see the protective mantle as the teacher uses it. On Monday, September 30, the day classes were exchanged, Geoffrey had commented to the observer that Miss Binder shouldn't have objections about receiving a sibling pair, Edwin and Allison, for Miss Carr had three pairs and he himself had two brothers, Harry and Billy, and three sisters, Patty, Rose and Evelyn. Both Edwin and Allison were difficult children with whom to work. In the observer's notes:

> I opened my mouth about this "rationalization" and caught Mr. Geoffrey between the eyes. This was a mistake. Points up the difficult role of friend, instructor, colleague and participant observer. Reemphasizes the importance of morning coffee, exchanging family experiences, passing on inside information regarding the Education Department at City University, in maintaining rapport and some kind of harmony. The sharp eye is necessary as an observer, but the quick tongue creates havoc. A discrimination needs to be made, however. On occasion, when Mr. Geoffrey's own ego is not involved, the ability to make a shrewd inference from minimal cues clarifies my business in being down here. Also continues to validate my ability to see important items. (9/30).

The observer has an important tightrope to walk.

In summary, it was only when he talked to others who have engaged in non participant research and who have had to find their informants and to build their relationships "on the spot" did the principal investigator truly come to appreciate this one unique role, among many others, played by Mr. Geoffrey.[6] This suggests further, the need for methodological investigations centering on various approaches to obtaining and utilizing informants.

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[6] We are indebted here to conversations with a number of our colleagues, especially Anne Trask and Laurence Iannoccone.

Contrasts in the "true participant" observer's behavior

The greatest strength of the classroom teacher as participant observer is that usually he knows why he proceeds as he does. He knows why he suddenly shifts gears when perhaps there is no overt evidence from non-participant observation.[7] The teacher, for example, may start talking about warm vs. cold blooded animals and then turn to something else before really going into the subject. Why? With no statements of plans and expectations from the participant, or the person being observed, the non-participant observer must have some difficulty in understanding certain courses which the teacher takes. Of course, there is difficulty herein because the teacher may not always understand why he proceeds as he does and may either be unable to report accurately or may be tempted "to look good" in what he does report. It is somewhat mortifying to admit, for example, that warm vs. cold blooded animals was a subject introduced and then discarded quickly because of a sudden feeling of inadequacy to make the point intended. But such was the case.

I imagine that there is much more to this. In teaching in the traditional manner the teacher is usually looking for certain answers, and unless a non-participant is thoroughly familiar with the patterns of instruction, problems previously encountered which cause the teacher to use a certain approach are unknown to that non-participant. The mere selection of content is a case in point. Why do I start with grammar and proceed later to composition work? By that I mean the formal instruction of grammar - today we will study nouns. The participant supposedly could present a logical argument supporting his procedures and practices. The non-participant may have no knowledge of these.

Even if he fills in the non-participant on his thinking, there is no guarantee that he fully perceives himself the reasons for his actions, nor is there a guarantee that he will report in full honesty even if he does know. Thus the participant has the advantage of knowing most of what is going on. Whether or not he can report this honestly is another matter. The non-participant alone cannot know the rationale behind practices and procedures.

The participant observer has other advantages. He can manipulate. I mean this mainly in the sense that he can, in interacting with students, lead conversations on to get more information. He can move two students so that they sit next to one another, or he can separate them. The non-participant must take things as they come.[8]

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[7] The importance of this and the succeeding paragraphs for our decision making model only appeared gradually as the project developed.

[8] In retrospect this too seems an exceedingly important point. The move toward "quasi-experimentalism" in ongoing classrooms is quite possible and should be exploited in later research.

The participant observer also has the advantage of being able to hear more than the non-participant. Many conversations at the desk or out in the hall are physically beyond the reach of the non-participant. Of course, there is a weakness here in that the participant is likewise limited. He misses much of what goes on at the back of the room. Of the two positions, however, the non-participant seems to miss much more.

The last named advantage would include access to all notes and other communications that pass across the teacher's desk. It would include conversations with other teachers, the principal, parents.

One final critical advantage is that the participant observer is to a certain degree a member of a social system, and from his interactions with other adults in the school comes by a great deal of information not available to the non-participant.

Thus the main advantages are:

(1) Usually knows what he is doing and why.
(2) Can manipulate to get data.
(3) Physical proximity to most of what is going on in the room.
(4) Close relationship to rest of school.

The disadvantages are, thus far:

(1) May not always know what he is doing, or at least may not be able to report this honestly.
(2) Does miss some things that happen away from him in the room.

There are disadvantages. The greatest to me is that the almost constant interaction demanded by the participant role and other duties involved prohibit real reporting. The non-participant observer has it all over the participant here. He can sit in the back of the room and fill page after page with notes, while the participant can only jot down a comment here and there, or make rushed notes which cannot survive long amid his constant attention to his classroom duties.

A fourth disadvantage is the nature of involvement. It is difficult to view with detachment when one has strong positive or negative feelings about the students. It is not impossible, but it is work.

A fifth disadvantage is the wrong use of manipulation. The temptation, or actual act, of manipulation, while it may have certain advantages, would, depending upon the data desired, present a false picture of the situation. It would not be normal. If a child says he is going down to the country, perhaps I might not ask normally what he means by "country". Perhaps such changes as this are not too serious. Thus the opportunity to manipulate might be regarded as a disadvantage, if used at the wrong time.

Thus additional disadvantages:

(3) Is too busy to take advantage of advantages.
(4) May become too involved to report objectively.
(5) May manipulate at the wrong time.

These appear to be the main advantages and disadvantages of the participant observer in relation to the non-participant. Of these, however, one needs further comment - and that is the stated advantage of the participant being a member of the social system. What happens when the participant works closely with the non-participant and therefore might be identified as an informant?

First, I would imagine there would be a difference between the informant leading the way and the informant being assigned the job. (By leading I mean entree to the system within the school.) Of course, there might be a wide range in just how much informing there would be in the case of arbitrary assignment by a third person. Here I will only consider the situation as it actually existed.

The first problem is the continual explanations required. Why is he here? What does he want? How does he feel? How long is he going to stay, anyway? The informant must allay fears, overcome suspicions, smooth paths. In short, depending upon what the observer wants, the informant may have to try to help him into the system.

The second problem is related to the first. What happens to the informant's role in the system? What information which I normally would have had was denied me? How much should I report of what I am told? I feel that the others sensed this part of the relationship. I feel that I was told most of the things that I normally would have been told. There was a difference in that once at least I was told something in strict confidence, not to be told to the non-participant observer. Thus some sensed the relationship. Many times I have been told things with the admonition, "Don't tell anyone." This was a case of being told not only not to tell anyone but also not to tell him. (The request was honored.)

Thus the result was harrassment about the non-participant observer and some extra caution in handling, or being given, certain information.

In addition, some members of the system were inhibited slightly in interacting with me, such as Mr. Gennep. Perhaps I, too, felt somewhat inhibited in wandering and interacting freely because of some sense of responsibility for the non-participant observer. Fortunately, however, in these areas as well as in the two problems mentioned above, the non-participant observer was a person able to minimize any difficulties.

Finally, one might ask about the impact of non-participant observers as they come into the system. How do the members perceive them? They do present some kind of threat or elicit some suspicion as far as a faculty is concerned. Teachers are generally not happy about being observed, or about having outsiders around. Or so they talk. Thus the nature of the entree may be critical. This is related to the above, and a lot may depend upon how well the presence of the observer can be explained at the very beginning. A lot may well depend on how he makes his presence felt. How well he can explain his presence there is important, too. The relationship to someone else already in this sytem, the preparation of some for his entrance and his passive acceptance by the students seems to have clouded or hidden any evidence of impact upon the system beyond that which already has been reported. In summary, there are probably many wrong ways to enter a system in this role which would not enable one to present observation after observation. This was not the case here.

On Keeping the Field Notes

After the initial perception of classroom events fades and new events crowd out earlier ones, the data which become "rock bottom" are the daily field notes and records.

Basically three kinds of records were obtained by the non-participant observer: (1) the longhand record of classroom events which contained direct reports of the behavior of the teacher, the children and others who happened into the classroom and the "insights," inferences, and interpretative comments which suggested themselves to the observer. Typically, the latter, the inferences, were bracketed to set them off from the more concrete behavior itself. (2) The second set of records were entitled "Field Notes: Summary Observations and Interpretations." Typically these were recorded electrically on a portable tape recorder. This invaluable device was used primarily in his car as he drove to and from the school. The content of these notes usually reflected events in the building as a whole and broader interpretations and reflections on the events of the day, week or semester. (3) The third set of records are the "documents." These include an array of materials passing through the classroom: occasional work samples, sociometric and other tests, notes from parents, and so forth.

Several points need brief amplification. The notes must be kept every day. While this is easy to say, it is very difficult to do for the accumulated fatigue and "staleness" mounts rapidly and significantly. The observer found often that he didn't have the energy to talk into the stenorette on the way home. He made a special point to talk the following morning.

Another very significant point -- for him-- concerned telling about an episode before he had talked it into the notes. This talking to one's wife or a colleague seemed to take the edge off of the reporting into the notes. In effect, we think that it mixed into the summary observations the reactions and interpretations of the new party. Again, we do not have quantitative data on this impression, our impression is that the leveling, sharpening and distorting phenomenon noted in research on recall of impressions and research on variations in successive transmissions of rumors is pertinent here. The observer tried to make a practice of keeping his mouth shut until the item was in the field notes themselves or dictated into the summary notes.

A further practice the observer followed and this accents the difference between model building and verificational research, was to record at the time what we call insights and interpretations. For instance, as happened in October, a language lesson was underway and the questions in the text called for the pupils to construct sentences containing direct objects. The teacher, Mr. Geoffrey, approached this carefully and systematically as he built on the children's prior experiences. The observer was noting his examples, the children's responses and so forth. While doing this, it occurred to him that the format of constructing one's own sentences was very different from the more usual identify the direct object in each of a list of ten sentences. The possibilities for prompting humor and originality with a statement "If you like, try to think up humorous or unusual sentences" seemed possible. Methodologically, the point we wish to make is that time was taken to write down this idea and several brief comments of the implications for the current fad about creativity, the consequences of humor in classroom interaction, a need to look at the structure of questions in textbooks, and the special characteristics of language arts in contrast to arithmetic or social studies. These comments were bracketed and initialed, the code for personal thoughts in contrast to observations.

When we returned months later to the notes, this interpretive comment formed a point of departure for ideas that must be checked throughout the notes for frequency and for relationships with other events. Methodologically, it is important to remember that the writing of such a comment meant that many events occuring during the writing, about which one eye was kept open, could not be recorded. If one were trying at the moment to quantify the frequency of teacher interaction with a pupil for a test of an hypotheses on the amount and kind of teacher-pupil interaction, this interpretive note would not be possible. For our purposes, we were "discovering" rather than "verifying."

On Analyzing the Field Notes

General Problems and Procedures

The twin goals-- describing the real world of a slum classroom and building a more general theory of teaching -- guided, as we have indicated, the collection of the data. Similarly these goals guided the behavior of the analysts in working with the accumulated file drawers of notes. Scholars such as Becker (1958) have indicated an ideal type in the process of data analysis. He suggests steps which fall roughly in this order:

1. Selection and definition of problems, concepts, and indices.
2. Checking the frequency and distribution of phenomena.
3. Construction of social system models.
4. Final analysis and the presentation of results.

In a sense, we did this, but for clarity we will indicate precisely our procedures.

While we did know we wanted a monograph which would describe and conceptualize the events of the classroom, we didn't know whether to write a chronology section and then a theoretical section or to attempt some blend. Consequently, we started reading through the field notes. In the course of doing this several things happened: first we reaffirmed our interest in speaking to the issues involved in beginning a new school year. Second we wanted to present considerable detail about the first few days to indicate the "quality" of our observation and to acquaint the reader with the children and the situation. Third, we immediately began running into the "interpretative insights" interspersed throughout the document. At that point we elected to write short statements, one to five pages, about the insights. These statements involved both descriptions and attempts to conceptualize. Later, after they had been put aside in favor of other problems and issues, new episodes and incidents would occur which bore upon them. More cutting and pasting, qualification, rewriting and consolidating of ideas would then occur.

Fourth, we began listing the concepts we used and the definitions we gave them. Our intent was to get these "on the table" and eventually organize and interlock them toward a general axiomatic theory of teaching. We soon found ourselves with problem areas such as the nature of the culturally deprived child in the classroom and social roles in the classroom. Several of these we pursued "quickly" through notes, cut and pasted our carbons into the "total story", and then drew out our more complete description and abstraction. As the ideas came and went we tried to date them to know whether they arose initially in situ or whether they "flashed" as we read and organized.

As we went about this, methodological questions, such as the two realities problem, arose and we stopped to think and write tentative statements about them. Also we invented procedures such as using the inside-outside idea as a means of focusing on decision making. In like manner we were haunted by the desire to say something about "the ideal" or changes we would make. When we started to phrase these as generalities they sounded glossy and inappropriate. The idea arose to focus on how we would change things in terms of each child and in terms of the specific parts of our description and model. We brainstormed this initially and returned again and again to the notes.

In this manner, like Topsy, the social system model grew. Our colleagues thought it very inefficient and time-consuming, as it was, yet we never had the total picture until we had the total monograph. Only then could we enter Becker's fourth phase of final analysis in any true sense. In a less than true sense we did because of another phenomenon. The senior author began to lecture on parts of the data and tried to put together coherent papers. Each of these went through criticisms by Mr. Geoffrey for erroneous interpretations and missed nuances. The notebooks arbitrated any continuing disagreements. Similarly, colleagues at City University helped clarify ideas in the thesis and ambiguities in the presentation.

The closest analogy we've found for the "analysts" behavior is that of putting a jig saw puzzle together. The pieces are strewn about. One has faith that order exists. Simple fits occur with struggling. Later the sections of "green" merge with the sections of reds and browns and blues. In time, the whole was there.

A Micro-ethnographic Procedure for Studying Decision Making Processes

As we have indicated, some literature exists on the problems and procedures in analyzing field notes. In the course of the analysis of our data, in the way we came to conceptualize the problem, and in the "inside-outside" type of methodology, we invented a format which seems productive and which might have broader generality. Briefly, it is easiest to report our simple steps and then to expand upon them.

1. Read through and stop at each "insightful" comment or interpretation.
2. Abstract verbatim the incident precipitating the insightful comment and the date of occurrence.
3. If possible elaborate the significance and implications of the incident.
4. Feed the incident (#2) without the insight (#1) or the elaboration (#3) to Mr. Geoffrey. Ask for reasons concerning his behavior or his perception of others' behavior.
5. Later, if desirable, feed the incident plus insight and/or elaboration for further commentary.
6. Later, re-read jointly each others' comments and talk additional interpretations into a verbatim record.

7. Include an occasional incident which seems innocuous to keep the other honest.

The procedure proves very helpful in making the process analysis related to our interests. One of the basic assumptions lay in the ongoing record of "insights" and "interpretations" kept by the outside observer. These events were akin to evidence on the "foreshadowed problems" of Malinowski. The record kept them from being lost. The notes also kept separate the concrete event in descriptive terms and the possible implications for abstract problems. The elaboration frequently amounted to a short conceptual essay in which the incident was decomposed into common elements and into a language system used throughout the report. This allowed for the gradual development of a systematic conceptualization of the classroom as a social system. Feeding the episode and the date to Mr. Geoffrey allowed him: (1) to go back to his notes and his general information, (2) to recapture the episode, and (3) to reproduce an approximation of the images and thought occuring at the time. In this way two sets of perceptions and two interpretations could be integrated about an issue. As discrepancies arose step #5 was initiated. In the course of critiquing early drafts of the report step #6 occurred.

As we have commented, our interest in decision making processes forced us in this direction. Our independent "inside-outside" record of events permitted the back and forth interplay.

One of the major advantages centered on the minor degree of alteration of the natural events. Mr. Geoffrey was a "naturally" introspective teacher. His keeping a record probably enhanced this. The outside observer by not breaking in with questions probably altered the situation much less than if he had called up, for critical analysis, the events as they arose. At the same time the records were complete enough to minimize distortion in recall.

D.

Microethnography as Science

The Goals: Describing the Real World and Building Models

As we have commented, we came to microethnography from skeptical positions. One, trained in a "dustbowl empiricism" at Minnesota where anthropology and non quantitative notes harkens back to a prescientific era and the other, experienced over several years in trying and difficult situations where "scientific" results seldom seem to have applicability, have considerable doubts as to whether our investigation qualifies as legitimate or as scientific. One phase of this doubt concerns the investigators' bias; i.e., "Does he see what he wants to see?" The questions can be handled best, we think, by an extended discussion of the problems of description and "model building." To enter this discussion, we present several more classical positions which we would hope ultimately to synthesize.

As we have commented, in his study of Melanesia, Malinowski, who argues for scientific anthropology, makes a major distinction between "preconceived ideas" and "foreshadowed problems."

> "But the Ethnographer has not only to spread his nets in the right place, and wait for what will fall into them. He must be an active huntsman, and drive his quarry into them and follow it up to its most inaccessible lairs. And that leads us to the more active methods of pursuing ethnographic evidence. It has been mentioned at the end of Division III that the Ethnographer has to be inspired by the knowledge of the most modern results of scientific study, by its principles and aims. I shall not enlarge upon this subject, except by way of one remark, to avoid the possibility of misunderstanding. Good training in theory, and acquaintance with its latest results, is not identical with being burdened with "preconceived ideas." If a man sets out on an expedition, determined to prove certain hypotheses, if he is incapable of changing his views constantly and casting them off ungrudgingly under the pressure of evidence, needless to say his work will be worthless. But the more problems he brings with him into the field, the more he is in the habit of moulding his theories according to facts, and of seeing facts in their bearing upon theory, the better he is equipped for the work. Preconceived ideas are pernicious in any scientific work, but foreshadowed problems are first revealed to the observer by his theoretical studies." (Malinowski, 1922, p. 8-9)

Becker in his classical analysis of inference and proof in participant observation comments:

> "The final stage of analysis in the field consists of incorporating individual findings into a generalized model of the social system or organization under study or some part of that organization. The concept of social system is a basic intellectual tool of modern sociology. The kind of participant observation discussed here is related directly to this concept, explaining particular social facts by explicit reference to their involvement in a complex of interconnected variables that the observer constructs as a theoretical model of the organization. In this final stage, the observer designs a descriptive model which best explains the data he has assembled." (Becker, 1958)

Our own experience has been this. In talking about the problems of teaching a group of slum children, there was little literature which we knew[9] that made much sense for helping a teacher carry out her day to day activities. These discussions led to a preliminary statement in a research proposal under the general heading of teacher strategies.[10] We report that statement verbatim from the initial proposal:

> ### The Preliminary Model: Teacher Strategies
>
> As it is used here, the term "teacher strategies" is broadly conceived and includes the construing, hypothesizing, decision making of the teacher. It includes also the action she takes upon such thinking, the perception of the consequences of this action, and the reconstruing, hypothesizing, and decision making she then undertakes. The concept "classroom social system" refers to the educational setting, the pupils, and the interdependency of the aspects of the classroom, that is, the activities, interaction, sentiment, and norms. The uniqueness of the combination of the elements is a function of environment and the personality systems of the teacher and children. Over a period of time, new elaborations appear and become standardized.
>
> #### The teacher and non-corresponding normative structure
>
> In recent years the concept of group norms has become central in the theories of many social psychologists and sociologists (Sherif, et al, 1956, 1961; Schachter, 1951; Homans, 1950; Thibaut and Kelley, 1959). In his extensive analysis of the structure of group norms, Jackson (1960, 1962) has presented a return potential model which incorporates a number of phenomena related to norms. One aspect of this is norm correspondence or non-correspondence. Essentially this is the degree of similarity in the values or schemata of an individual group member and the more general norm of the group. Jackson's analysis has had obvious consequences in general social psychology. It seems to offer a point of departure for a number of important educational and classroom issues relating the teacher's behavior with the classroom group.
>
> To this investigator's knowledge there has been no significant breakthrough in conceptualizing a middle class teacher's coping with a class of children from a lower social class. Recently, strategies for dealing with lower class children have been suggested in a number of sources. They are impressive in their vividness, their variety, and, to the present, their lack of synthesis. Becker (1951, 1952) suggests that the teacher must be showy, dramatic, and acceptant of

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[9] Without question what we knew and how well we understood this literature can be criticized.

[10] For which we were unable to obtain funds.

minimal effort. Watson (1962) suggests "The starting point is respect. Nothing else that we have to give will help very much if it is offered with a resentful, contemptuous, or patronizing attitude (p. xi)." Riessman (1962) comments:

> "She can concentrate on those values which she holds in common with the pupils and ignore the differences. . . She can ignore value questions entirely and focus on teaching basic skills and knowledge. . .There is one more option, and this viewpoint underlies the present book. The teacher may, in a designated area, explicitly and openly disagree with a value bias like anti-intellectualism. If she does this directly and honestly, not snobbishly or manipulatively, she may be able to sway students, and may also be more at ease in her relationship to them (p. 82)."

And then he states, almost as a second thought, what seems to this investigator a most important corollary:

> "Of course, disagreement, to be fruitful, has to take place within a framework of general acceptance, and so the teacher, in order to be effective in opposing certain beliefs, has to be able to share, or at least respect other sentiments (p. 82)."

It is precisely at this point, the understanding of the context surrounding this problem area would be assessed carefully through interviews; her behavior would be observed carefully; and the responses of the individual pupils and the class group would be observed carefully and tested objectively. This is the theoretical and practical clarification of the social system concepts dealing with the interdependency of the teacher and the group. A more intimate and vivid concrete view of this sort should, in the broad programmatic context of the whole proposal, then permit abstraction to a wider and more general point of view.

It is our hunch that this problem may yield conceptually because it seems to be an instance of the more general case of non-corresponding normative structure. If we can extend Jackson's theorizing, if we can collate the findings of such relevant literature as Merei's (1949) work with child leaders and "institutionalization", Lippitt's (1958) modification of Lewin in the Dynamics of planned change and Coch and French's (1953) field experimentation in "Overcoming resistance to change" then case study observations of a teacher working with such a problem should be a fruitful addition to educational literature.

At this point we began systematic observation. As we have indicated, the strategy model became seen as a portion of the larger decision making conception. Once this conception was suggested, we began to pursue ideas from Simon, Bross, Brim and so forth.

Briefly, we might indicate that seminar discussions, faculty reactions, and general discussions in classes raised points which had not been seen before. The senior author recalls vividly giving a talk to a group of student teachers and the development of the "best of a bad situation" conception in trying to handle a question regarding some of the ideas from the project.

It is not parenthetical to include two additional pieces of evidence about the development of the model in field work, or as an English teacher might say, finding a thesis or theme for one's paper. William F. Whyte comments in the foreward of his book (1955):

> "John Howard spent two years of field work in Cornerville. In this book, I have found it wise to concentrate upon my own material, which I know best, but discussions of our separate observations were exceedingly valuable in clarifying my ideas. Mr. Howard was the first to suggest that an analysis of leadership would provide means of integrating the study." (Whyte, 1955 Rev., p. v)

If we read that last sentence correctly the unifying theme, the major ordering construct of the monograph developed quite fortuitously out of a casual conversation or an intense discussion. For our purposes, it illustrates well the interplay between data, active concept formation behavior on the part of the investigator, prior theory, outside stimulation and "chance" combinations of these factors.

Later he comments:

> "The ideas that we have in research are only in part a logical product growing out of a careful weighing of evidence. We do not generally think problems through in a straight line. Often we have the experience of being immersed in a mass of confusing data. We study the data carefully, bringing all of our powers of logical analysis to bear upon them. We come up with an idea or two. But still the data do not fall in any coherent pattern. Then we go on living with the data--and the people-- until perhaps some chance occurrence casts a totally different light upon the data, and we begin to see a pattern that we have not seen before. This pattern is not purely an artistic creation. Once we think we see it, we must re-examine our notes and perhaps set out to gather new data in order to determine whether the pattern adequately represents the life we are observing or is simply a product of our imaginations. (Whyte, 1955, Rev. pp. 280-1).

The Creditability of the Model

We have used the term, model, as a schematic complex of interconnected variables explaining a phenomenon. When one asks the question, "Is the model adequate?", one raises the classical issues of explanation in science. Briefly our reasoning proceeds thusly:

1. explanation -- is the deduction of hypotheses from other propositions.
2. deduction -- is a logical process governed by rules.
3. an hypothesis is an unverified proposition.
4. a proposition[11] is the relationship between two concepts.
5. a concept is a unitary abstraction used to order experience.
6. verification is the process of obtaining concrete observations on the relationship between concepts.

The organization of these definitions is illustrated best, in our experience, by Zetterberg (1965) in his discussion of "the confirmation of a proposition." He relates two concepts, conformity and promotion, into an hypothesis, the more a member conforms to the norms of a formal organization, the greater the likelihood that he will be promoted." While he does not formally deduce this from more general propositions, one might do so from concepts such as those presented by Homans in his discussion of Social Behavior: its elementary forms. Zetterberg then reports indicators, concrete observations, or operational definitions of his concepts; there are items from an attitude scale and records of promotion in an organization -- in this instance, the Army. He argues for the validity[12] of the indicators, their relationship to the concepts, and their reliability. Finally, a test of the proposition is made through determining its likelihood of arising by chance. Zetterberg raises questions of items such as controls, representativeness of the sample, and control of alternative propositions.

The classical solution of the control of alternative hypotheses in scientific research is through the experimental method and its corollary, randomization. In descriptive or correlative research, one cannot carry out such procedures. Consequently, the major alternative hypotheses in Zetterberg's illustrating such ideas as seniority relating to promotion or education relating to promotion are investigated and tested. Unfortunately, alternatives are limited only by ingenuity of the critic -- physical attractiveness, physical size, ascendancy, etc., might also be suggested.

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11. Principles and generalizations are synonyms for proposition.

12. Validity is a complex operation itself involving both logical and empirical aspects, e.g., the recent psychological attempts to formulate construct and content validity as well as predictive and concurrent validity. In a sense one never can escape into a neat category of "this is theoretical" or "this is empirical." One shifts levels of abstraction and employs "evidence" of various sorts.

These issues become exceedingly crucial for the microethnographer in that he is trying not to test a single proposition but to construct a network of interdependent propositions. At the operational or concrete level, his observations suggest interrelations but are susceptible to alternative interpretations. At the conceptual level his explanation is vulnerable to others' explanations. To handle these problems we have resorted to two lines of thinking. First, we argue that this methodology is most appropriate for model building and experimental methodology is most appropriate for hypothesis testing. Second, we have sought to handle the alternative hypothesis through what Polya (1954) calls "plausible reasoning."

The Two Realities

Methodologically, one of the most critical problems with which we have struggled we named "the two realities problem." When the observer goes into the field, he perceives a reality -- the flux. Such a process continues day by day. Eventually, as we have begun to indicate, the observer leaves the field and has his notes typed into multiple copies so that analysis might proceed easily. These notes become now a second reality. For most field workers they are the basis for analysis.

Several implications occur. The more recent attempts (Becker, et al, 1961) to quantify participant observer data rest on twin assumptions: first, that everything in the notes, the second reality, represents events in the first reality, the real flux; and second, that the proportion of events to one another in the notes is a total sample or contains proportionality with the events in the real world. We would contend that these are separate assumptions and important for the kind of analysis possible. For illustrative purposes, we would select a simple example, interruptions from outside the room. In regard to the two assumptions, we would argue that every interruption, defined as a pupil or teacher who entered the room and obtained Mr. Geoffrey's attention at least momentarily, which is stated in the notes, actually occurred. However, to argue that we have information on the proportion of staff to student interruptions is another issue. Similarly, to argue that interruptions occur more or less frequently in mornings or afternoons raises the second assumption.

To content analyze the notes and quantify such percentages seems open to serious question. To continue the illustration, on several days we specifically attended to the problem of interruptions and made formal counts of how many occurred. On other days we were more interested in other problems and only incidentally noted who was coming in and out of the room. To go back to the notes now and to test hypotheses of the order -- interruptions occur more frequently on Monday and Friday -- seems inappropriate. However, to have a tentative belief, an hypothesis that this is so and to use the belief in reasoning through problems of teacher strategy in organizing lessons for Mondays and Fridays seems most feasible.[13]

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[13] Most assuredly other hypotheses concerning absences, rhythms of work, pupil norms, etc., need to be entered into concerning Friday lesson planning.

In this sense we are arguing our basic thesis, the methodology is much more appropriate for model building rather than verificational research. We would urge one final related caution. Living in another institution for so many hours per day for such a long period of time, and with the single clear purpose of understanding, the institution leaves one with a vivid view of a reality. Later as persons raise hypotheses, of many orders, one feels compelled to validate, supplement or criticize on the basis of this experience. This seems to be moving implicitly toward the second assumption. For instance, at the time of this writing, we have been stimulated by Professor Lortie of the University of Chicago.[14] His conception of the autonomy-equality pattern and the authority pattern of the school is a fascinating analysis but it only partially fits the Washington School as we saw the school. As we criticized the conception, primarily for under estimating the informal teacher-teacher and teacher-principal interactions and reciprocities, we are presenting what latently are quantifiable relationships. While informally the arguments are posed in terms such as "you haven't quite caught the tenor of the system" or "more frequently it goes like this," a more careful analysis requires further documentation. Because the participant observer was not specifically testing this pattern of hypotheses, he cannot present quantified results on this point. The notes won't contain the data which meets the second assumption. Also the conception by its very originality may cue images and verbal memories of events that did not get into the notes but which are possessed by the investigator. This suggests, really, a third reality -- the unwritten recollections of the investigator -- which may or may not be adequately represented in the notes. We raise this because of the important value such critiques might possess and because of the frequency with which it seems to occur without awareness among participant observers.[15]

"When Prophecy Fails": An Exception.

Perhaps the classical exception to our general point that participant observer methodology is utilizable for model building rather than verificational research occurred in the study by Festinger and his colleagues. (Festinger, et al., 1956). The research team were full participants[16] and were unknown as researchers to the members of the group under study.

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[14] Personal communication and also through his chapter in Shaplin and Olds Team Teaching.

[15] If this really be true then this kind of training for practitioners in use of theory is very significant in their training.

[16] This adds another shade to the multiple meanings of "participant observer". See their discussion, pp. 234 - 249.

The observers

> . . .were informed that we needed to know about each individual in the movement, the degree to which he was sincerely convinced of the truth of the various components of the belief system; the kind of actions he had taken (or failed to take) in committing himself to participation in the movement; and, finally, the extent to which he had engaged in proselytizing or propagandizing for the belief system. (Festinger, et al, 1956, p. 244).

While they could not write notes while they participated, trips to the restroom, pleas that one "needed to think alone", and accessible tape recorders facilitated careful recording.

The critical element, however, in a verificational study concerns carefully drawn hypotheses available before entering the field situation. The researchers had developed their theoretical position from many social data and had given it limited test in historical analyses of "unfulfilled prophecies and disappointed messiahs." Their position led them to state five interrelated propositions:

> 1. A belief must be held with deep conviction and it must have some relevance to action, that is, to what the believer does or how be behaves.
> 2. The person holding the belief must have committed himself to it; that is, for the sake of his belief, he must have taken some important action that is difficult to undo. In general, the more important such actions are, and the more difficult they are to undo, the greater is the individual's commitment to the belief.
> 3. The belief must be sufficiently specific and sufficiently concerned with the real world so that events may unequivocally refute the belief.
> 4. Such undeniable disconfirmatory evidence must occur and must be recognized by the individual holding the belief. . .
> 5. The individual believer must have social support. It is unlikely that one isolated believer could withstand the kind of disconfirming evidence we have specified. If, however, the believer is a member of a group of convinced persons who can support one another, we would expect the belief to be maintained and the believers to attempt to proselyte or to persuade non-members that the belief is correct." (Festinger, et al, 1956, p. 4).

In effect, the observers had specific instructions relevant to concepts and propositions central in the theory. They, in contrast to most participant observers, were not to wander intellectually nor to free associate on mental health implications of messianic movements, the role of public news media in formations of cults, adolescent hostility to holders of deviant belief system, and so forth. Such questions, and many others that a reader might find of interest, were not to be posed and built into a more general conceptual structure.

Polya's Analysis

Part of our effort methodologically centered on integrating our approach with the more usual traditions in education and psychology. Specifically we were intrigued with the possibilities of axiomatic and deductive theories as a means for defining "proof" of hypotheses. Also we were concerned with the power of the experimental method in controlling alternative hypotheses through randomization and in permitting one to make explicit probability statements about obtained differences in results. Our efforts have been aided materially by the analysis suggested by the mathematician George Polya in his book, *Patterns of plausible reasoning*. Essentially he raises distinctions between "proof" and "plausible reasoning" and illustrates his ideas by reference to a wide variety of mathematical and common sense illustrations. Proof, he defines as the deduction of a proposition from more general mathematical theory. Many mathematical propositions have been discovered and accepted as plausible long before they have been proved. As an illustration he presents a hypothesis or conjecture discovered by Euler, "Any integer of the form 8n + 3 is the sum of a square and of the double of a prime." When n = 1, the integer is 11 which equals 1 + 2 x 5. When n = 2, the integer is 19 which equals 9 + 2 x 5. When n = 3, the integer is 27 which equals 1 + 2 x 13. Polya comments that empirical verification has occurred in numbers through 1,000 but the theoretical proof does not yet exist. He argues that each succeeding demonstration does make the proposition more credible. The generalization he makes concerning this pattern of plausible reasoning he calls *verification of a consequence* and he argues such verification renders conjectures (hypotheses) more credible.

He extends this idea of verification of a consequence to *successive verification of several consequences*. The illustration he uses here concerns the theorem for the areaof the lateral surface of the frustum of a cone, $\pi - (R+r)\sqrt{(R-r)^2 + h^2}$, where R is the radius of the base, r is the radius of the top, and h is the altitude. He then proceeds to several consequences: if R = r, the frustum of the cone becomes a cylinder and the equation reduces to 2rh which is the area of the lateral surface of a cylinder. Similarly, he set h equal to zero and obtains the area of annulus between two concentric circles. A final consequence, r = h = 0, provides the formula for the area of a circle. As several such consequences are verified, the original proposition takes on greater credibility.

Polya presents both a mathematical and a common sense illustration of a third case: the *verification of an improbable consequence*. His illustration clarifies the point:

> A defendant is accused of having blown up the yacht of his girlfriend's father, and the prosecution produces a receipt

> signed by the defendant acknowledging the purchase of such and such amount of dynamite. Such evidence strengthens the prosecution's case immensely. Why? Because the purchase of dynamite by an ordinary citizen is a very unusual event in itself, but such a purchase is completely understandable if the purchaser intends to blow up something or somebody. (p. 8).[17]

We cite one further pattern, "our confidence in a conjecture can only increase when an incompatible rival conjecture is exploded" (p.20). If proposition A is incompatible with B and B is false then A becomes more credible.

> We consider a situation which is not too usual in mathematical research but frequently occurs in the natural sciences. We examine two conflicting, incompatible conjectures A and B. When we say that A conflicts with B or A is incompatible with B we mean that the truth of one of the two propositions A and B necessarily implies the falsity of the other. Thus A may be true or not and B may be true or not; we do not know which is the case except that we know that both cannot be true. They could both be false, however. A naturalist proposed the conjecture A to explain some phenomenon, another naturalist proposed the conjecture B to explain the same phenomenon differently. The explanations are incompatible; both naturalists cannot be right but both could be wrong.
>
> If one of the conjectures, say B, has been proved to be right, then the fate of the other is also definitely decided: A must be wrong. If, however, B has been disproved, the fate of A is not yet definitely settled: also A could be wrong. Yet, undeniably, by the disproof of a rival conjecture incompatible with it, A can only gain." (p. 20).

Briefly, as we state such a proposition as the clerk in the elementary school is an important part of the informal organization of the school we can illustrate the tenor of Polya's analysis. In the very first occasion of the observer's being in the school, he had the impression that his conversation with the principal was monitored casually by the clerk. On a much later occasion she expressed a frank and diverging opinion in a discussion with the principal. She regularly ate lunch with a group of the teachers, one of whom was acting principal when the principal was out of the building. She was invited to informal staff parties and social functions. Information from outside the system, e.g. which families had moved, was conveyed

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17. This kind of illustration is leading us into a consideration of legal proof as well. The analogy seems quite relevant.

by her to other members of the staff in the casual and informal chatting and "passing the time of day." In short, our confidence increases with the developing web of consequences, individual, successive, and improbable which surrounds the clerk and her interrelationships.

In summary, the argument we are making is that our observations make us privy to an immense number of sequences of events. As we try to shape these into empirical and conceptual order, hypotheses arise. In checking back to the written record we keep looking for exceptions to our generalizations which would make the model less credible. As we find consequences congruent with the model, we move toward greater credibleness. In all of this it is not possible to attach clear .05 or .01 probability statements. Nonetheless, the strategy seems significant and important.

E.

Summary

We have tried to take the reader through several main ideas in our concern for methodology. First, we are impressed with the continuities between participant observation and other ways of knowing. Second, we have tried to describe concretely and specifically our behavior, what we did, as we carried out phases of the project. Third, we have tried to open several knotty problems in the logic of scientific method as they troubled us during the course of our study. Obvious reasons exist for wanting to do this. Less obvious perhaps, and we haven't spoken in detail of this, we have found this kind of research more exciting and enlightening than anything we had done before. We have begun to implement the approach in other settings and on other problems. If we are to continue, we feel it is important to raise our self consciousness of the procedures.

Appendix II

Glossary: the Beginnings of a General Theory

Introduction

As we have reiterated continually our interests lie in description, model and theory building and interpretation. As description moves beyond the rough categories and concepts of the layman, the issue of a language system appropriate to the classroom arises. We have started essentially with the concepts of George Homans and quickly moved well beyond.[1] Our early hopes of developing an axiomatic theory of classroom processes have given way to the wisdom that we do not have the time, the resources and probably the talent for such an accomplishment. Instead we present a glossary, a partial dictionary. Even though it is much less than our original aspirations we are pleased with it in several ways: first, it is comprehensive in its scope--our classroom. Second, it possesses an internal consistency in that it has a few undefined terms and builds all the others upon the original. This we think will greatly reduce the "slippage" in classroom argument and discussion wherein a party introduces concepts new to the discussion, as he explains predictions which go awry or situations outside his usual generalizations. Third, the concepts seem to be of real importance for the teacher who wishes to control, alter or guide her classroom. Finally for the educational researcher the concepts seem readily transformable into operations pertinent to laboratory experiments and operations relevant to observational schedules or questionnaires useful in verificational research in field settings.

Concepts in the Psychology of Teaching

ability: (1) personal resources available for carrying out activities.

activity: (1) events engaged in by a group. (2) comparable to "behavior" in reference to the individual or response as a unit of behavior; (3) syn.: task.

aggression: (1) a kind of interaction in which one person hurts another.

assumption: (1) a proposition held to be true for purposes of argument.

attending: (1) a kind of activity in which the children are engaged with the academic materials; (2) a kind of interaction in which the children listen and follow the content of the teacher's verbal statements.

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[1] Parenthetically we might add that Professor Homans, also, even in his early book The Human Group seemed to be thinking well beyond his formal theory. For instance his excellent chapter, (#16), "The job of the leader" clinically outstrips his theory.

awareness: (1) dimension of teacher behavior in which teacher knows information important in the group members' lives and indicates his knowledge to the group.

barrier (specific to learning): (1) an unknown activity lying between the individual and his goal which prevents attainment of the goal.

belief: (1) a group variable referring to a common perception among members.

best-of-a-bad-situation: (1) an alternative which is better than any of the available alternatives but which is quite discrepant from an absolute standard.

boredom: (1) a negative sentiment arising because of slow pace and lack of variety in activity or interaction.

choice: see decision

concept: (1) an abstraction noting a commonality among discrete objects.

confidence: (1) schema characterized by ability perceived to be adequate for the task or activity.

conformity: (1) activities in accord with norms; (2) one conforms when one acts in ways prescribed by group norms.

constraint: (1) a variable (or element) which inhibits activity; (2) may be temporary or permanent; (3) may be in any part of the system--personal, social or cultural; (4) often used to justify (rationalize) action or inaction and in this sense reducible to lack of ability, high reward and costs, and other "undeniable" expectations.

contingency preparation: (1) dimension of teacher behavior which averts situations which have a high probability of negative consequences.

continuity: (1) a dimension of activity and interaction referring to connections with past and future.

control: (1) a type of interaction in which teacher directives elicit pupil responses.

cultural deprivation: (1) environmental experiences producing deficits in mental ability, mental health, etc. of school children.

decision: (1) end result of deciding; (2) deciding--the cognitive process in an individual (or group) takes one alternative among an array of two or more alternatives; (3) usually connotes active and serious intellectual effort although on occasion not--as in a thoughtless decision; (4) synonyms: choice, judgment.

decision tree: (1) a graphic display of a sequence over time of decisions, alternatives, and consequences.

defenselessness: (1) a characteristic of culturally deprived children involving lack of support by parents during crisis period.

difficulty level: (1) a dimension of activity characterized by probability of adequate pupil response.

discipline problems: (1) pupil behavior, activity or interaction not conforming to school norms or to teacher beliefs.

discriminal ability: (1) an ability of the children to make subtle distinctions in parts of the environment.

dissonance: (1) an internal response of incongruent or conflicting elements--perceptions, ideas, attitudes or overt behavior.

embarrassment: (1) a kind of sentiment in which an individual is uncomfortable due to discrepancy in behavior and ideal.

emotionality: (1) a response characterized more by feeling and emotion rather than rational problem-solving behavior.

environment: (1) "Everything that is not part of the social system is part of the environment in which the system exists." (Homans, 1950, p. 57.)

episode: (1) a time unit of the belief system; (2) useful for the observer as he analyzes classroom processes.

esteem: (1) a sentiment of positive regard for another person.

expectation: (1) see norms.

external system: (1) the group's solution to the demands of the environment. (In a school, the organization of the classroom which approximates system directives.) (2) syn.: technical organization, formal structure.

fatigue: (1) a state of the individual reflecting a ratio of resources to tasks to be done.

fixed point of schedule: (1) the "hard" part of the schedule; (2) that part of the schedule which is usually set by outside forces, and which all other parts of the activity must be scheduled around.

frustration: (1) failure to satisfy; (2) blocking of goal attainment; (3) a state of tension resulting from (1) or (2).

getting-off-the-hook: (1) a type of interaction in which the teacher leaves a difficult situation.

grooving the children: (1) a kind of interaction in which the teacher issues of series of minor directives and obtains a series of minor responses from the children.

group: (1) two or more persons who interact together or who are believed to interact together.

group pressure: (1) the increase of rewards and punishments of several individuals, usually legitimized by group norms.

here-and-out-there: (1) a discrimination between behavior in class and outside of class.

hypothesis: (1) an untested proposition, a conjecture.

institutional rhythm: (1) the sequence of organizational processes wherein a cycle or series of episodes repeats itself.

knowledge: (1) a fact, concept, or proposition; (2) usually our usage applies to propositions that is a relationship between two concepts, x leads to y.

learning: (1) the change in the probability of occurrence of a response in a particular situation; (2) syn.: pupil change.

legitimized: (1) behavior ordinarily arousing guilt but diminished by group norms.

lesson: (1) a subpart of an activity which contains a specific teaching purpose.

member: (1) a person defined (by group or others) as within a group.

mental health: (1) a broad collection of individual attributes involving apathy, anomie, hostility, aggression, anxiety, frustration, and volatility.

multiple strands: (1) at any moment in time the classroom contains multiple dimensions of activity and interaction; (2) strands implies a past and future orientation as well as the momentary present.

norm: (1) group variable, indicating common regard for what ought to be done by individuals, roles, or groups.

norm change: (1) instability or alteration in norms.

norm clarity: (1) relatively little disagreement among group members regarding a norm; (2) syn.: clarity of expectations.

norm integration: (1) ordering or priority in expectations. . .minimizes frustration of member (ego); (2) syn.: role or norm conflict.

operationalizing: (1) moving from a concept to its indicators.

organizational pressure: (1) comparable to individual and group pressure but with increased legitimation and usually with more extended ramifications.

pacing: (1) a ratio of amount of activity to time.

patience: (1) a dimension of teacher behavior characterized by acceptance of pupil who moves more slowly or inappropriately than the teacher expected.

pay-off table: (1) anticipated consequences (outcomes) of various atlernatives in a decision.

person: (1) an undefined term--that glob of protoplasm within a skin commonly referred to as a human being.

personalized interaction: (1) a dyadic interaction between the teacher and one pupil.

plan: (1) a schema relating alternatives to goals.

position: (1) an element of social structure; (2) defined in terms of the group's belief system; (3) dynamically--viewed as a role; (4) syn.: status, role.

practice: (1) the repetition of a response series as an aid in learning.

prediction system: (1) the scheme of relationships among choices, alternatives, and consequences.

pressure: (1) a threatened or actual increase or decrease in rewards and punishments.

principle: (1) a proposition with some empirical support.

proposition: (1) relationship between two or more concepts.

provisional try: (1) dimension of tentativeness in teacher behavior or teacher-pupil interaction.

rank: (1) a kind of sentiment indicating one's place in a group.

rational decision: (1) a decision based upon probabilities that a selected alternative will have the highest probability of reaching the goal; (2) subjectively rational--in judgment of actor; (3) organizationally rational--in terms of institutional goals; (4) objectively rational--in terms of expert's judgment.

reputation: (1) a unit of a group belief system or an individual's schema (a concept) indicating probabilities of "others" (child, or teacher, etc.) behavior; (2) in Washington School used especially regarding a pupil's trouble-making properties, and his ability and willingness to do school work.

ringmaster: (1) a dimension of teacher behavior reflecting an ability to handle multiple and simultaneous strands of activity and interaction.

role: (1) see position; (2) a pattern of activities, interactions and sentiments bound together by a group belief.

role conflict: (1) varying and conflicting expectations for member; (2) conflict from expectations from two different groups.

routine: (1) activity or interaction which has reached a stable sequence and is perceived by the children as stable.

role incumbent: (1) person occupying a position or role.

role structure: (1) the interlocking pattern of roles in a group.

schedule: (1) the time sequence of activities.

schema: (1) an individual's view of the world.

sensational: (1) activities or interactions showing a discrepancy between belief and actual events and which carry moral overtones.

situational thinking: (1) cognitive processes accenting the context in which propositions are considered; (2) used after Selznick (1949).

skirmish: (1) an interactional episode of a minor sort which is relevant to the larger game of teaching.

social class value conflict: (1) a conflict in goals held by members of two or more social classes.

status: (1) an ambiguous concept, (a) see position, (b) see rank.

successive approximation: (1) a process of teacher-pupil interaction in which the teacher aids the shift in the pupil behavior towards a specified criterion.

teacher: (1) a role in the school in which an individual tries to change the learning of another, the pupil.

teaching style: (1) a broad rubric summarizing several aspects or dimensions of teacher behavior, teacher-pupil interaction, or (2) possibly the total classroom equilibrium which is alleged to be under the teacher's control.

tension (group): (1) negative sentiment; (2) group dissatisfaction.

time: (1) our sense of things happening one after the other; (2) operationally--movement of clock hands.

value system: (1) the conception of goals or ends; (2) syn.: objectives.

variety: (1) a ratio of kinds of activity to time.

vicarious experience: (1) perception of another's experience.

Appendix III

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